DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 201 942 CG 015 173

TITLE	Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the Ohio Council on Family Relations 1980.
INSTITUTION	Ohio Council on Family Relations, Columbus.
PUB DATE	80
NOTE	71p.
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Childhood Attitudes; Displaced Homemakers; *Employed Women; Family (Sociological Unit); *Family Relationship; Gerontology; *Home Management; *Mothers; Pregnant Students; *Sex Role; Social Influences; *Socialization; Violence

ABSTRACT

This compendium of papers presented at the 1980 convention of the Ohio Council on Family Relations is grouped into four major areas. Papers in the Family and Social Systems Section discuss spousal violence, psychological gerontology, and bureautechnocracy, i.e., the bureaucratic and technological influences on society. Materials in the Children's Relationships and Concerns section focus on young children's perceptions of mothers and teachers, body-build stereotypes in young children, children's sex-role socialization, and the effects of rapid technological changes on young people growing up in Africa. Articles in the third section, Integrating Careers and Families, explore the work motivations of mothers with infants, the plight of the displaced homemaker, and attitudes and control orientation in family management. The final section, Roles, Perceptions, and Judicial Involvement, consists of documents about reference group interaction and sex-role orientation, the current status of school-age mothers with respect to their continuing education, and the dilemma of the "super-mom." (NRB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED201942

PROCEEDINGS

ANNUAL CONVENTION

1980

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Johnnie Budke

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

OHIO COUNCIL ON FAMILY RELATIONS

CG 015173

Table of Contents

SESSION I: THE FAMILY AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS
Moderator: Johnnie H. Budke,
Columbus Technical Institute 5

A Conceptual Model of the Antecedents of Acts of Spousal Violence with Implications for Intervention and Strategies
Bonnie J. Perkins, Brigham Young University
Richard Galligan, Akron University
Steven E. Perkins, University of Akron 5

Changes in Intellectual Functioning, Social Self Perceptions Among Aging Persons After a Five Year Time Lapse
Sara M. Derrick, Bowling Green State University 11

Bureautechnocracy: Family and Public Policy
Doris K. Williams, Bowling Green State University 17

SESSION II: CHILDREN: RELATIONSHIPS AND CONCERNS
Moderator: Kathleen Campbell,
Bowling Green State University 21

Young Children's Perceptions of Mothers and Teachers
Sally Kilmer, Bowling Green State University 21

Body Build Stereotypes as a Product of Social Learning
Patsy Morris, Kent State University 26

As the Twig is Bent: Sex-Role Socialization in the United States
Kathleen Campbell, Bowling Green State University 31

Growing Up in Two Worlds: Reports from Africa
Wanda Montgomery, Bowling Green State University 34

SESSION III: INTEGRATING CAREERS AND FAMILIES
Moderator: Albert Lovejoy,
Otterbein College 39

Work Motivation of Mothers of Infants
Johnnie H. Budke, Columbus Technical Institute 39

Disadvantaged by Society: Plight of the Displaced Homemaker
Rosemary T. Mulcahy, Kent State University 45

Family Management: The Role of Attitudes and Controls Orientation
Olga B. Hough, Ohio Wesleyan University 49

SESSION IV: ROLES, PERCEPTIONS AND JUDICIAL INVOLVEMENT
Moderator: Bron Ingoldsby
Kent State University 55

REFERENCE GROUP INTERACTION AND SEX ROLE ORIENTATION
Aida Tomeh, Bowling Green State University 55

PERCEPTIONS OF SELECTED SCHOOL AGE MOTHERS, THEIR PARENTS AND SCHOOL PERSONNEL REGARDING SCHOOL ACTIVITIES AND EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES
Gail Henderson, Ohio Department of Education 60

THE HAND THAT ROCKS THE CRADLE ALSO BRINGS HOME THE BACON, COOKS IT, AND WASHES THE DISHES: THAT SAME HAND IS KILLING HERSELF TRYING TO BE SUPER-MOM
Laura D. Kivlin, Bowling Green State University 64

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE OHIO COUNCIL ON FAMILY RELATIONS

1980

Contributed Papers Selected by the 1980
Program Committee of the Ohio Council

5

Copyright 1980 by the

OHIO COUNCIL

ON FAMILY RELATIONS

Office of the President

Term: — 1980 Sara M. Derrick

Bowling Green State University
Bowling Green, Ohio 43403

Term: — 1981 Johnnie H. Budke

Columbus Technical Institute
Columbus, Ohio 43220

Foreword

This edition, the first of the Ohio Council on Family Relations' *Convention Proceedings*, represents a compendium of papers presented at the annual convention held at Otterbein College, Westerville, Ohio on March 21, 1980. Publication of a sample of papers presented at the conference is a means of disseminating the results of this exciting body of knowledge on many aspects of Family Relations and encourages conference participation in future years.

Council members and others have the opportunity of purchasing this collection of papers at a reasonable cost for future references. It is hoped that in the future the *Proceedings* will become integrated as part of a total system for communicating ideas responsive to the diverse needs of persons interested in many aspects of Family Relations.

The papers reported in this compilation are grouped into four major areas: The Family and Social Systems; Children: Relationships and Concerns; Integrating Careers and Families; and Roles, Perceptions and Judicial Involvement. Readers are encouraged to contact the authors for additional information on a particular study.

The Editorial Committee

Johnnie Budke, President Elect
Kathleen Campbell, Newsletter Editor
Sara Derrick, President and Program Chairperson, 1980
Beatrice Quaranta, Immediate Past President

SESSION I:

THE FAMILY AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS

MODERATOR: Johnnie H. Budke,
Columbus Technical Institute

A Conceptual Model of the Antecedents of Acts of Spousal Violence with Implications for Intervention Strategies

BONNIE J. PERKINS
Department of Child Development and Family Relationships
Brigham Young University

RICHARD J. GALLIGAN
Department of Home Economics and Family Ecology
The University of Akron

STEVEN E. PERKINS
Department of Counseling and Special Education
The University of Akron

Recent research suggests that violence often occurs in many U.S. marriages. A model for the antecedents of acts of spousal violence that includes societal preconditions, internal spousal states and interpersonal resources is presented. Implications for marital therapy are discussed.

The marital relationship has traditionally been defined as one of harmony, love and non-violence. Only in the past decade have researchers "discovered the fact that marital conflict is a pervasive social phenomenon and that spouse abuse may well be a standard feature of American society (Straus, 1974). Several studies have suggested that violent behavior is used by approximately 30% of American couples in their interpersonal relationship (Steinmetz, 1977; Straus, 1977; Chimbos, 1978; Wolfgang, 1958).

The presence and/or apparent approval of violent behavior between spouses at such a magnitude raises many questions. What forces might be at work in allowing, encouraging or causing this behavior? What can be done by spouses, friends, kin or society to decrease the incidence of spousal violence and increase positive, growth-oriented marital relationships? This paper will attempt to shed some light on these questions in two ways. First we will offer a model which suggests some conditions which may be necessary prerequisites and presents some factors that may influence the actual occurrence of an act of violence within marital interaction. Secondly, we will discuss the implications of the model for marital therapy.

THE MODEL

Our model of the antecedents of acts of spousal violence is built on the general assumptions of an interactional perspective. To remain consistent with recent seminal work in the area of family violence, we have adopted in part the conceptualizations of Gelles and Straus (1979) as our starting point. Thus for this discussion we consider violence to be any "act carried out with the intention of, or per-

ceived as having the intention of, physically hurting another person" (Gelles and Straus, 1979:554). In the marital context, the violence is carried out by one spouse upon the other, and would include such acts as throwing something, hitting, pushing, grabbing, kicking, slapping or biting a spouse; hitting or trying to hit with an object; and using or threatening to use a knife or gun (Gelles, 1978, 1979; Gelles & Straus, 1979).

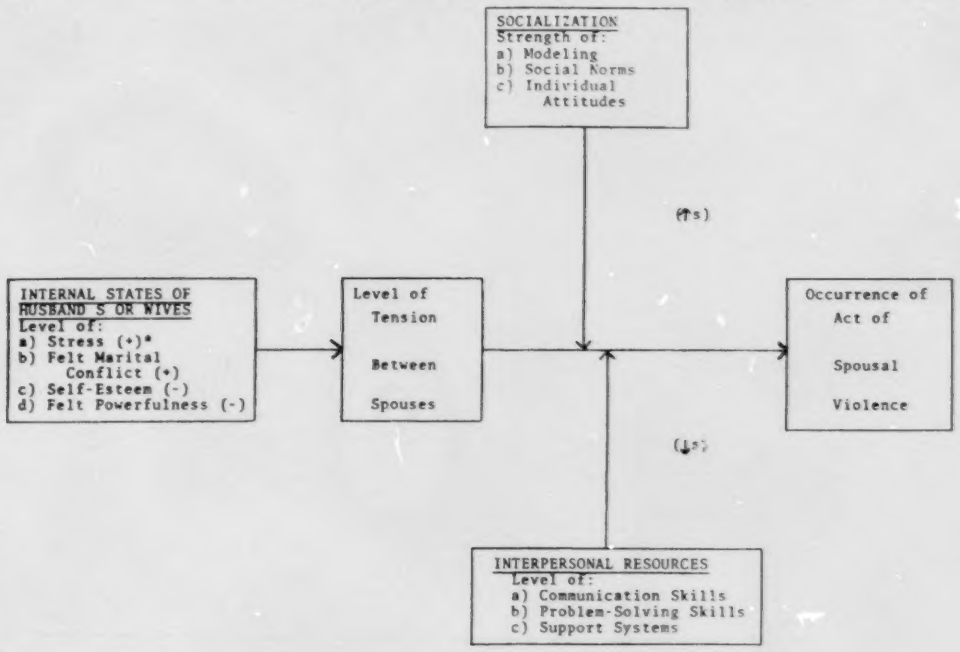
Our basic assumption is that violent behavior occurs within the context of tension between the spouses. From this standpoint we reason (as shown in figure 1) that there should be a strong positive relationship between the degree of tension between the spouses and the likelihood of an occurrence of an act of violence during their interaction. Most of us would agree that as greater strain is placed on an interpersonal relationship the quality of their communication with each other will decrease and the likelihood of striking-out behavior occurring out of frustration would increase. It is this breakdown and the forces that influence its dimensions that our model addresses.

Our model contains three levels of antecedent or contingent variables. At the most general level is a set of necessary background or societal conditions inculcated through childhood socialization that frame violence by giving permission for spouses to strike each other. At the next level is a set of internal states within the spouses that create the conditions within a situation for communication to breakdown and violence to result. At the third level is a set of interpersonal resources that influence the timing of the violent act. *Spousal violence requires an understanding of the dynamics occurring on all these levels.*

Socialization

At the most general level (labeled socialization in figure 1) we consider that the abuser and often the abused has had some socialization into the violent behavior and the norms or attitudes he/she functions under allow for violence. We feel that for violent behavior to

FIGURE 1. A THEORETICAL MODEL OF VARIABLES INFLUENCING AN ACT OF SPOUSAL VIOLENCE.



*Pluses or minuses in parentheses show direction of relationship.

be used, it must be within a person's repertoire of behavior. A companion assumption is that violence is learned behavior. In figure 1 modeling is used as an example of a learning process that occurs within the family. As a child the spouse may learn that violent behavior is the best, most used or only solution to interpersonal problems. Then when tension rises in the marital interaction the spouse turns to using violent behavior as the solution to easing their distress. Recent research into wife abuse supports this perspective and suggests that the husband and often the wife were raised in homes where they were either abused as children or saw their parents striking each other (Gelles, 1979).

We also consider that violence may be a "normal" method for dealing with difficult situations. A child's experience with violence is expected to lead to his/her learning explicit or implicit norms or attitudes about violence. For many couples, norms and attitudes allow or even encourage certain levels of violent behavior within the marital relationship (Gelles and Straus, 1979).

The general norm within our society is that marital interaction should be non-violent. However, there are subgroups within the society for whom violence is normatively tolerated. Given the cultural orientation to non-violence we would expect that most Americans would hold the attitude that they should not strike their spouse. However, an individual can hold attitudes advocating violence. For example, in Sweden the norm is for no violence between spouses yet an individual Swede can advocate violence.

Our model, then, suggests that the greater the experience a person has with violence, the more likely they will use it in marital interaction. Norms and attitudes have further mediating influences. If norms and attitudes do not advocate violence, then we would expect that a higher degree of tension can be tolerated before a violent act would occur. If norms or attitudes approved of violence, then we would expect a lower threshhold before violence occurred. These factors are considered to be *necessary conditions* for violence to happen. If none of these factors was present, then we would expect that violent behavior would not appear in a marital interaction.

Internal States

There are several variables which may create the tension within a marital relationship which leads to violent behavior. The level of each of these may itself be a result of different factors. However the effect of each is to alter the behavior and/or perception of behavior by one spouse towards the other. The net effect is a rise in the level of tension within the marital relationship.

A high level of stress within a spouse may lead to a rise in the level of tension. Job or financial pressures and social responsibilities may interact with developmental changes over the family life cycle and the intimate emotional investments in other family members to create stress within a spouse. If the stress and resulting marital tension is not dealt with the resulting frustration may cause the spouse to respond with aggression or violence.

A high level of perceived marital conflict may also lead to tension between spouses. Social learning theory suggests, for example, that if violence has been learned as a solution to certain types of conflict, it will likely be used in those situations. Goode (1971) suggests that a person can use violence to stop a partner from doing something, or to coerce one into doing something, thus ending a perceived conflict on the issue.

When a person perceives that they have lost control over the other in the marriage relationship, s/he may turn to violence as a resource. Resource theory suggests that it may be used to prove that s/he has power by coercing or inflicting costs on the partner. Allen and Straus (1979) see violence being used as the "Ultimate Resource."

A lowering of the level of a spouse's self-esteem could also lead to violent behavior. As the spouse's feelings of self-worth decrease, their ability to effectively function as a person and successfully communicate with the other spouse are expected to also decrease. We would thus expect that as the spouse's behavior changes, tension will rise in the relationship.

Interpersonal Resources

While our model suggests that the socialization variables provide the context within which violence occurs and that internal states of the spouses lead to the development of tension in the relationship, it is the interpersonal resources that govern the occurrence or timing of the violent act. We suggest that while

the necessary conditions and internal states are important, taken alone they do not allow us to understand the violent act. Rather it depends on how the level of tension is dealt with. We expect that the interpersonal resources of the spouses will mediate the tension/violence relationship.

In figure 1 we have suggested three major resources that individuals have to goven their behavior. The level of communication skills may be defined as how much and how accurately one is able to share feelings and ideas on the issues and experiences a person has. We expect that higher ability to communicate will lessen the possibility for tension to result in a violent act. This seems logical in that a person who cannot express his/her feelings and holds them inside will feel an increase in stress and powerlessness over the situation. Being unable to master the anxiety within the situation, the spouse lashes out in violence. There is limited evidence that suggests that the less expressive spouse uses violence (Chimbos, 1978; Graff, 1979; Totman, 1978).

The level of problem-solving skills can be defined as how well a person can define a problem, discover and evaluate alternatives, and come to and implement a workable or appropriate solution. The person with good ability in problem-solving is better able to develop adaptive solutions to situations in their lives (Maier, 1979). Few people, however, have been taught these skills and react throughout their lives on a more impulsive basis, which may often include violent action. We expect that higher levels of problem-solving skills by spouses will decrease the possibility of using violence in tense situations.

The third factor of an extended support system has been suggested by several authors as providing the marriage with necessary resources to lessen the possibility of violence. Support systems include the person's kin network, friendship ties and societal institutions. Basically, we suggest that distance from others creates an isolation and feelings that no one can help. There is no one with whom to communicate, no positive experience with others to carry one through and no one to intervene when marital tension hits high levels. Studies on wife abuse have shown that the wive is often isolated from any support network (Chimbos, 1975; Totman, 1978; Gelles, 1979; Graff. 1979).

In summary we have suggested a simplified model of important factors to consider in understanding marital violence. Because of the newness of research in family violence and the brevity of our discussion it is difficult to develop the dynamic complexity that underlies marital interaction and its outcome in violent actions. However we feel that this model is essential as a reference to guide marital therapists in the counseling of couples with spousal violence as part of the presenting problem.

IMPLICATIONS FOR COUPLE THERAPY

Those who report involvement in spouse abuse and request assistance for it generally fall into one of three categories: 1) those who want to separate or divorce; 2) those who feel the only option is to remain in the marriage and maintain the status quo, but who need help coping; and 3) those who want to remain, but want to change the relationship (Walsh & Geller, 1978).

For categories one and two, individual and group strategies have been developed to assist persons in meeting any or all of the following goals: 1) build self-esteem; 2) develop a sense of hope; 3) increase assertiveness without antagonism; 4) gain a knowledge of available resources; 5) replace limiting sex-role stereotypes; and 6) develop talents (Ball & Wyman, 1978; Ridington, 1978; Elbow, 1977; Hepner, 1979; Martin, 1976; Walker, 1978).

For cases of spouse abuse in category three, however, couple therapy is the treatment of choice. Three essential steps must be taken before conjoint therapy can progress (Walsh & Geller, 1978).

The therapist may first need to assist the battered spouse in developing ways to bring the partner to therapy. Role playing and discussing various dialogues often leads to strategies that will end in the spouse's agreement to begin conjoint treatment.

Secondly, from the beginning it is important to get a commitment from the batterer to work to stop the violence.

Third, it is necessary to determine that there are no organic problems.

Assessment of Variables

Now, let's consider the assessment process. Our model suggests that we want to gather data relative to the variables included under socialization, internal states of husbands and

wives, and interpersonal resources.

First, a discussion of family history can help to determine the extent to which modeling of violence and social norms prescribing or allowing violence are present. Individual attitudes will also be expressed, allowing the therapist to determine how the couple views violence (that is, is violence ever OK, under what conditions is it OK, when is it not OK, for whom is it OK).

Second, the internal states of husbands and wives must be considered. Careful observation and probing can help to determine the level of these variables. Physical manifestation of anxiety frustration, tenseness, etc. can provide information about stress and an understanding of recent occurrences in the family (death, moves, job changes, etc.) can help determine stress levels for the couple.

Observation of interaction, probing, and the use of short self-report scales (Marital Adjustment Test, Marital Happiness Scale) can give an indication of felt marital conflict.

Observation of body posture, interaction, and the number of negative self-statements are helpful indicators of the level of self-esteem. Expressions of helplessness or hopelessness provide information regarding felt powerfulness.

Third, the interpersonal resources of the couple are assessed most effectively by observation of couple interaction. The therapist can observe the couple's dialogue regarding a relevant marital concern, he can structure a role play, or he can introduce a simulated problem solving situation to help assess resources quickly and accurately. Additional probing may be necessary to determine the extent of the support system available to help the battered spouse avoid potential isolation. Also, tactics which are used by the abuser to enforce isolation, like forbidding the spouse to speak to her mother, must be identified.

Careful and systematic collection of data, using the model as a guide, plays an important role in the therapist's ability to identify deficits and then develop effective behavior and attitudinal change strategies.

Intervention Strategies

For the purpose of illustration, I will suggest that our assessment of couple A showed a need to design interventions to 1) change the husband's attitudes toward violence; 2) raise the husband's and wife's levels of self-esteem: and 3) develop more function couple problem-solving skills. The following strategies may help in these areas.

1. Explore the consequences of the husband's present attitudes. Challenge the rationality of his position. Help him look at alternative attitudes which may result in different behavior.

2. Validate each one's worth by reinforcing strengths whenever possible. Challenge the irrational thinking each uses to maintain low self-esteem. Teach them to build one another.

3. Teach a problem-solving process that the couple can use effectively in place of anger and/or violence.

A key aspect of intervention in a case of spouse abuse seems to be the experience of success as quickly as possible. Therapy sessions may need to be held 2-3 times a week to help the couple understand quickly the sequence of events that trigger the violence and identify ways to circumvent violence through alternative behaviors that can be practiced by each spouse.

Certainly there are other strategies that practitioners use each day to deal with the issue of spouse abuse. The critical point is that a workable theoretical model gives the therapist a guide by which he can quickly zero in on the factors which contribute to the acts of spousal violence and efficiently design effective treatment procedures.

REFERENCES

Allen, C., & Straus, M. Resources, power and husband-wife violence. In M. Straus & G. Hotaling, *The social causes of husband and wife violence.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1979.

Ball, P. G., & Wyman, E. H. Battered wives and powerlessness: What can counselors do? Victimology, 1978, **2**, (3, 4), 545-552.

Chimbos, P. D. *Marital violence: A study of interspouse homicide.* San Francisco: R & H Research Associates, Inc., 1978.

Elbow, M. Theoretical considerations of violent marriages. *Social Casework.* 1977, **58**, (9), 515-526.

Gelles, R. J.
Violence in the American family. In J. P. Martin, Ed. *Violence and the family.* Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1978.

Gelles, R. J. *Family violence.* Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1979.

Gelles, R. J., & Straus, M. Determinants of violence in the family: Toward a theoretical integration. In W. R. Burr, R. Hill, F. I. Nye, & I. L. Reiss (Eds.). *Contemporary theories about the family.* Vol. I. New York: The Free Press, 1979.

Goode, W. J. Force and violence in the family. *Journal of Marriage and the Family,* 1971, **33,** 624.

Graff, T. T. *Personality characteristics of battered women.* Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1979.

Heppner, M. J. Counseling the battered wife: Myths, facts and decisions. *Personnel and Guidance Journal,* 1979, **58,** 61-65.

Maier, N. R. F. *Problem solving and creativity in individuals and groups.* Monterey, California: Brooks/Cole, 1970.

Martin, D. *Battered wives.* San Francisco, California: Glide Publications, 1976.

Ridington, J. The transition process: A feminist environment as reconstructive milieu. Victimology, 1978, **2,** (3, 4), 563-575.

Steinmetz, S. K. The use of force for resolving family conflict: The training ground for abuse. *The Family Coordinator,* 1977, **26,** 19.

Straus, M. Foreword. In R. J. Gelles, *The violent home: A study of physical aggression between husbands and wives.* Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1974.

Totman, J. *The murderess: A psychosocial study of criminal homicide.* San Francisco, California: R & H Research Associates, Inc., 1978.

Walker, L. E. Treatment alternatives for battered women. In J. R. Chapman & M. Gates (Eds.), *The victimization of women.* Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1978.

Walsh, J. C., & Geller, J. A. A treatment model for the abused spouse. *Victimology,* 1978, **2,** (3, 4), 627-632.

Wolfgang, N. *Patterns in criminal homicide.* Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1958.

Changes in Intellectual Functioning, Social Self Perceptions Among Aging Persons After a Five Year Time Lapse

SARA M. DERRICK
Bowling Green State University
Bowling Green, Ohio

This study sought to determine whether differences were found between intellectual functioning among aging persons who were retested after a five-year time lapse, subsequent to initial testing and those who failed to participate in retesting. In addition, the study described social self perceptions of retestees with respect to measures from five areas of social behavior. Twenty-five persons participated in the study at initial testing (5 males, 20 females; $\overline{X}$ age = 71.42 years). Seventeen participated at five-year follow-up. Initial assessments were performed with the Full Scale WAIS. Follow-up assessments utilized the WAIS and five measures from the Havighurst Attitude Survey. Fourteen dependent variables were submitted to a Multivariate ANOVA with age, sex and education as co-variates. At initial testing scores from 17 retestees differed significantly (in favor of retestees) from those of nonretestees with the Digit Symbol subtest. A trend was found toward lower scores of nonretestees than of retestees with 10 subtests and with the Verbal, Performance and Full Scale IQ Scores. Age and sex were not significant for intellectual functioning. Significant effects with respect to education were determined for 12 measures. Retestees demonstrated trends toward incremental and decremental changes at follow-up and revealed positive social self perceptions.

Interest in psychological gerontology focusing on age related changes in intellectual functioning dates from approximately five decades. While systematic studies of intellectual functioning from early to late maturity have been reported, the bulk of research on the topic has featured the cross-sectional approach which studies subjects at varying ages and compares subject performance across age levels.

Early cross-sectional studies revealed a slow decline in intellectual functioning from early to late maturity and researchers interpreted such changes on the basis of several factors. Among them were sampling factors, such as difficulty in obtaining comparable samples at varying ages, poor sample selection at later years (Jones, 1971), small numbers of cases and possible inappropriate measuring devices at upper ages (Miles, 1932). In addition, unknown levels of prior subject functioning and loading of non-intellective factors in measuring instruments were cited as influencing test score changes with age increases.

Corsini and Fasset (1953) hypothesized that a prison population constituted a representative sample of older persons and reported

results from a "forced sample" of San Quentin prison inmates whose ages ranged from 15 to over 70 years. Results of that cross-sectional study revealed that intellectual functioning does not decline with age; instead, score accelerations on some subtests and decelerations on others become evident. The conclusion was that general intelligence tends to remain stable across ages.

In a summary of research on intellectual changes with age Shock (1951) pointed out a need for longitudinal data for interpreting changes in intellectual functioning over the life span. Following that summary results of several longitudinal comparisons of intelligence test scores appeared in the literature (Bayley & Oden, 1955; Jones & Conrad, 1933; Owens, 1953). A common finding in those studies was that many intellectual functions do not decrease with age and scores with some measures continue to increase simultaneously with increasing chronological age. Bayley & Oden (1955) reported that intelligence when measured with verbal measures continues to increase among persons of superior ability and their score configurations of change vary from those of less abled persons.

Several studies focusing on age changes in intelligence test scores have reported results based on the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale, commonly abbreviated by psychologists as the WAIS (Wechsler, 1958) as a measuring instrument. Among those studies was an analysis of data from the WAIS standardization sample (Birren & Morrison, 1962). In that study subjects' educational attainment as well as their ages were utilized as variables in a Product Moment analysis of a matrix of inter-correlations of WAIS subtest scores. A finding from that study revealed incremental and decremental results. The largest positive value was associated with the Vocabulary subtest (previously reported to increase with age), while the largest negative value was associated with the Digit Symbol subtest (previously reported to decresae with age). In addition, educational attainment was found more significant for general ability than was the subjects' chronological age.

Eisdorfer (1963) tested 182 aged persons with the WAIS and other measures. Three years later 165 of the original sample were tested again with the same instruments. For analysis purposes subjects were grouped on the basis of their ages (60-69 years and 70 years and above) and their full scale IQ scores obtained on the first examination (IQ = 116+; 85-115; less than 85). Significant differences were found between verbal scores of returnees and non-returnees (in favor of returnees) only in the case of persons aged 70 years and older whose Full Scale IQ scores were between 85-115. In addition, subjects' scores tended to regress toward the mean. Eisdorfer speculated that a relationship between the physical conditions of older persons and their intellectual status could exist.

Several studies have supported age-related declining performance with certain behavioral responses, such as with psycho-motor performance (Schonfield & Robertson, 1968; Howell, 1955). Others have reported that tests such as vocabulary reveal gradual acquisition and a slow decline, if at all, with advancing age. Among the studies was that of Falek, Kallman, Lorge and Jarvik (1960).

In a search for an alternate conceptual framework of development which accounts for changes in human intellectual functioning several writers (Jarvik & Falek, 1963; Lieberman, 1965; Riegel & Riegel, 1972) have moved beyond the traditional cross-sectional and longitudinal comparisons of intellectual changes with age and have employed a complex developmental model to describe changes in psychological performance over varying time segments. The model incorporates the notion of a "terminal drop" in intellectual performance which becomes manifest within less than five years preceding a person's death.

The model emerged from consistent findings. Groups of subjects who were given intelligence tests at a given time and were tested again after several years (except those who failed to survive the next test date), earned higher scores at initial testing than did those who failed to survive subsequent testing dates (Riegel & Riegel, 1972). In addition, Lieberman (1965) found qualitative changes in visual-motor copying tests produced by persons during serial assessments over a varying time span. Subjects' drawings were found to contain features which were interpreted as demonstrating mental disorganization and declining integrative capacity to cope with life events. Results of the study revealed two distinct groups of persons: a "Death Delayed" group consisting of persons who were surviv-

ing after completion of a minimum of 10 testing sessions and a "Death Imminent" group consisting of persons who died within 3 months after completing 5 sessions. The groups of persons could be distinguished on the basis of directions of their changes in visual-motor performance with time lapses. The conclusion from those studies was that systematic psychological changes occur within a person prior to death which may be related to bodily deteriorations and those changes may be measured quantitatively and qualitatively.

Another feature of the "terminal drop" mortality model relates to subjects' willingness to participate in testing. Riegel & Riegel, (1972) found that persons who were willing to participate in retesting revealed a lower mortality rate between test sessions than did those who resisted or refused to be tested.

On the basis of the above findings, the "terminal drop" mortality model points out that results of observations of changes in functioning have the "potential implication that all observed changes might be attributed to the behavior of those persons who do not survive the next few years following test administration" (Davis, 1954 in Riegel & Riegel, 1972, p. 306). "Developmental trends may describe nothing but changes in mortality in the aging population; the observed decline may be due to the terminal drop of nonsurviving subjects whose number increases with age" (Riegel & Riegel, 1972, p. 307).

The present study employed the "terminal drop" mortality developmental model for interpreting changes in human intellectual functioning during a short-term longitudinal study.

METHOD

Specifically the concern in the present study was whether there were differences in intellectual functioning at initial assessment between persons who were retested after a five-year time lapse and those who were not (due to death, incapaciting illness or refusal to participate). Availability of such information will provide additional evidence concerning the "terminal drop" mortality model of development.

A second interest in this study was the social self perceptions among a group of aging persons. Social change during recent years has contributed to modifications in residential patterns among aging persons and has promoted availability of large numbers of apartment buildings designed specifically to accommodate the aging population. The previous decade has witnessed an exodus of large numbers of people from traditional types of residence in homes to living in newly constructed apartment buildings. Accordingly another purpose in this study was to describe social self perceptions among aging persons who changed their living arrangements, in many instances, from private home residency as nuclear families to residing in small apartments and living alone.

Subjects

Participants in this study were 25 adults (5 male, 20 female) who were residents of a federally subsidized apartment building. The apartment complex housed persons aged 60 years and older and persons less than that age who demonstrated physical disability. Several types of social services were available to residents of the building. Among the services were transportation, a nutritional program within a common dining area and recreational activities. Participation in such recreational activities is voluntary. Ages of participants ranged from 52 years, 9 months to 92 years, 8 months ($\overline{X}$ age = 71.42 years). Mean educational attainment was 8.08 years (S.D. = 4.12). All persons were living alone due to spousal death, except for one husband-wife couple.

Procedure

At initial assessment (during 1973) the Wechsler Adult Intelligence scale was administered. The scale widely used by psychologists and commonly referred to as the WAIS consists of 11 subtests. Of that number there are 6 verbal subtests (Information, Comprehension, Arithmetic, Similarities, Digit Span and Vocabulary) and five performance subtests (Digit Symbol, Picture Completion, Block Design, Piacute Arrangement and Object Assembly). The test is individually administered and yeilds a Verbal, a Performance and a Full Scale IQ Score. All assessments were performed in each subject's apartment by a licensed and experienced psychologist.

After a five-year intervening period a retest included administration of the same subtests as previously. However, the sample size had

decreased from 25 to 17 persons. Of those who failed to participate in retesting, 3 were deceased, 3 refused and 2 were too seriously ill to sustain the endeavor.

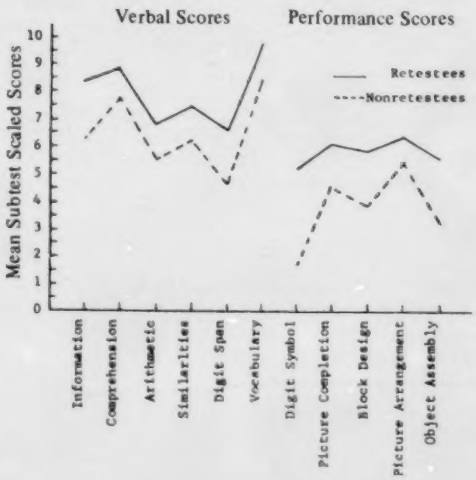
In addition, five sections from the Havighurst Attitude Inventory (Havighurst, 1957) were administered to retestees. The Inventory is a self report measure which requires respondents to place check marks before statements according to subjects' self perceptions. Statements from 5 components of the Inventory were employed. Components were: Health, Family, Friends, Home and Happiness. Sample statements from the components were: "My health is as nearly perfect as anyone could hope for," "My family is a great source of satisfaction," "My many friends make my life happy and cheerful," "My home is my greatest source of satisfaction," "These are the best years of my life." Responses were scored on a continuum from 4 (indicating most positive) to 1 (indicating least positive). Results were calculated in terms of the percentage of persons responding with the most positive statements.

Results

Fourteen dependent variables (11 WAIS subtests, Verbal Performance and Full Scale IQ Scores) were subjected to a Multivariate ANOVA with age, sex and education as factors. Evidence from the analysis revealed that age and sex were not significant for intellectual functioning. However, significant effects ($p<.05$) with respect to education were determined for the following measures: Verbal, Performance and Full Scale IQ Scores, for the Information, Comprehension, Arithmetic, Digit Span and Vocabulary subtests from the verbal measures and for Digit Symbol, Picture Completion, Block Design and Picture Arrangement subtests from the performance measures. Education was not significant for the Similarities or Object Assembly subtests.

Analysis of the data revealed that at initial testing, scores of retestees were greater than scores from nonretestees on the Digit Symbol subtest ($p<.05$). See Figure 1. This finding is congruent with that of other studies which have reported initial scores of retestees to differ from scores of nonretestees (Eisdorfer, 1963; Riegel & Riegel, 1972). There was also found a trend toward lowered scores of nonretestees than of retestees with the remainder

FIGURE 1. MEAN SCALED SCORES ON WAIS SUBTESTS FOR RETESTEES AND NONRETESTEES AT INITIAL ASSESSMENT



of the WAIS subtests (Figure 1), however significance was not obtained. A striking finding from these results concerns the contribution of perhaps some unidentified variable upon the pattern of scores of both groups of participants. Further inspection of Figure 1 submits evidence that the configuration of scores is similar for both groups. However, the distance between groups was significant only with the Digit Symbol subtest.

Other results from this study revealed that the retestees demonstrated score increases from initial testing to the 5 year follow-up with the Arithmetic subtest and Full Scale IQ Scores. There was also a trend toward decreases with Digit Symbol, Information, Comprehension, Digit Span and Vocabulary subtests, however the changes failed to reach significance.

Results of the Attitude Survey indicated that a large percentage of respondents reported positive statements regarding their health, their families, their friends, homes and happiness. Fifty-eight percent reported agreement with the statements "I am reasonably well satisfied with my health," and "My family is getting along very well." Eighty-eight percent reported agreement with the statements, "My friends make life cheerful and happy," and "I am well satisfied with my

home." One hundred percent responded with the statement, "Life could be happier for me."

DISCUSSION

At the end of a 5-year time lapse after the initial assessment of 25 aging persons analyses were performed to determine whether retesteees differed from nonretestees on the basis of the WAIS Full Scale intelligence test. Results revealed that retestees scored significantly higher than did nonretestees with the Digit Symbol subtest. In addition, persons who participated in retesting demonstrated a trend toward higher scores on the remainder of the 10 WAIS subtests, however significance was not attained.

The Digit Symbol subtest requires a timed performance from testees and rapid performance yields high scores. Subjects are permitted a specific time duration in which they are required to visually inspect symbols, match them with digits and copy the symbols inside small boxed areas. Constant visual shifting coordinated with copying is necessary for responding to that subtest. Visual problems alone, particularly among aging persons could impact negatively upon attaining success. Subjects in this study were sometimes observed to move their papers away from their bodies, to tilt their heads or squint their eyes, notwithstanding their use of eyeglasses in many instances. In addition to speed and visual factors, Schonfield and Robertson (1968), basing their conclusions on factor analysis study of the WAIS, placed importance on a memory factor for success with tests such as the Digit Symbol subtest. The notion was that responses intrinsic to tests such as the Digit Symbol results in placing the stimuli in short-term memory and that retrieval from storage presents difficulty for aging persons. Thus responses with the Digit Symbol subtest among this group of respondents are interpreted as reflecting factors associated with speed of performance, eye-hand coordination and memory.

The trend toward lower scores from persons who failed to participate in the follow-up is congruent with findings from Riegel & Riegel, (1972) and Eisdorfer (1963). Persons who had deceased before the follow-up period were among those who scored lower at the first testing session than did those who were surviving and participated in retesting, however significance was not reached. Although persons who scored lower at initial testing either were deceased or refused to participate subsequently due to incapacitating illnesses, caution is submitted with respect to generalizing from these results, as uncertainty exists regarding whether the groups of persons functioned differently at any period in their lives. Such information is not available, but could be informative regarding evidence of a terminal drop prior to death.

Retestees submitted positive responses with respect to social self perceptions along dimensions related to health, family, friends homes and happiness. Such perceptions could be related to factors intrinsic to opportunities available for group socialization within the apartment building. For example, residents who chose to participate in group meal services and recreational activities were likely to have perceived such involvement as self enhancing and positively reinforcing. In addition, physical qualities of individual apartments could have contributed to respondents' satisfaction with homes and home life. All these factors could have combined to influence responses regarding social self perceptions.

Summary

This study of intellectual functioning among aging men and women revealed that age and sex were not significant for levels of intelligence. As might be expected, education of the subjects was a significant factor. Further, after an initial period of assessments subjects failed to participate in a second round of testing due to their death, incapacitating illness or refusal for no stated reason. Analsis of test scores obained at initial testing revealed that those persons who failed to participate in the follow-up performed at a signlficantly lower level on the Digit Symbol subtest than did those who were retested. A trend in the same direction as with the Digit Symbol was found for the remainder of the subtests, but significance was not reached. This evidence lends support to a "terminal drop" mortality model of developmental theory as submitted by Riegel & Riegel (1972). At follow-up retestees demonstrated both incremental and decremental changes with some subtest scores. In addition, retestees submitted responses indicating positive social self perceptions about their health, family, friends, homes and happiness.

REFERENCES

Bayley, N., & Oden, A. B. The maintenance of intellectual ability in gifted adults. *Journal of Gerontology*, 1955, **10**, 91-107.

Birren, J. E., & Morrison, D. F. Analysis of the WAIS subtests in relation to age and education. *Journal of Gerontology*, 1966, **18**, 363-369.

Corsini, R. J., & Fasset, K. K. Intelligence testing and aging. *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 1953, **83**, 249-264.

Eisdorfer, C. The WAIS performance of the aged: A retest evaluation. *Journal of Gerontology*, 1963, **16**, 169-172.

Falek, A., Kallman, F. J., Lorge, I., & Jarvik, L. F. Longevity and intellectual variations in a senescent twin population. *Journal of Gerontology*, 1960, **15**, 305-309.

Havighurst, R. J. The social competence of middle-aged people. *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 1957, **56**, 297-375.

Howell, R. J. Changes in Wechsler subtest scores with age. *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 1955. **19**, 47-50.

Jarvik, L., & Falek, A. Intellectual stability and survival in the aged. *Journal of Gerontology*, 1963, **16**, 173-176.

Jones, H. E. Intelligence and problem-solving. In Birren, J. E., & Morrison, D. F. *Handbook of aging and the individual*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1971.

Jones, H. E., & Conrad, H. S. Growth and decline in intelligence. *Genetic Psychology Monograph*, 1933, **13**, 223-298.

Lieberman, M. A. Psychological correlates of impending death. *Journal of Gerontology*, 1965, **20**, 181-189.

Miles, C. C., & Miles, W.R. The correlation of intelligence test scores and age from early to late maturity. *American Journal of Psychology*, 1932, **44**, 44-78.

Owens, W. A. Age and mental abilities: A longitudinal study. *Genetic Psychology Monograph*, 1953, **48**, 3-54.

Riegel, K. F., & Riegel, R. Development, drop, and death. *Developmental Psychology*, 1972, **6**, 306-319.

Riegel, K. F., Riegel, R., & Meyer, G. The prediction of retest resisters in research on aging. *Journal of Gerontology*, 1968, **23**, 370-374.

Schonfield, D., & Robertson, E. A. The coding and sorting of digits and symbols by an elderly sample. *Journal of Gerontology*, 1968, **23**, 318-323.

Shock, N. Gerontology. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 1951, **2**, 353-370.

Wechsler, D. *The measurement of adult intelligence*. Baltimore, Maryland: Williams & Wilkins, 1958.

Bureautechnocracy: Family and Public Policy

DORIS K. WILLIAMS
Bowling Green State University

Bureautechnocracy is a word coined by Phillip Smith to convey the idea of the modern bureaucratic and technological influences on contemporary society. These influences are changing the life styles of large numbers of people in their work, leisure and community. These emerging life styles have important public policy implications. Bradshaw and Blakely (1978, p. 1), in a monograph produced for the Institute of Governmental Studies in California, define life style as a "shared pattern of belief, consumptions and participation in the social arena." They state (p. 1), "Life styles have recently begun to stimulate policy decisions requiring increasing amounts of government funding, regulation and analysis."

This paper will explore the changing life styles as influenced by bureautechnocracy, and will examine the public policy implications for government in several specific areas. This paper will also indicate the problems involved in determining appropriate responses by government.

It is clear that considerable research is needed into the affects of an advanced industrial society on life styles and the way that "value changes are translated into public policy" (Bradshaw & Blakely, 1978, p. 24). Only when these value changes are understood will it be possible to adopt public policies that allow for appropriate government responses for the future.

INTRODUCTION

Bureautechnocracy is a work used by Tes coni and Morris (1972, p. xii) to convey the idea of the modern bureaucratic and technological influences on contemporary society. These influences are changing the life styles of large numbers of families in their work, leisure and community. These emerging life styles have important public policy implications. Bradshaw and Blakely (1978, p. 1), in a monograph produced for the Institute of Governmental Studies in California, define life style as a "shared pattern of belief, consumptions and participation in the social arena." They state (p. 1) individual and family, "Life styles have recently begun to simulate policy decisions requiring increasing amounts of government funding, regulation and analysis."

This paper will explore the changing life styles as influenced by bureautechnocracy, and will examine the public policy implications as well as indicate the problems involved in determining appropriate responses by government.

BUREAUTECHNOCRACY AND LIFE STYLE

Social theorist Daniel Bell (Bradshaw & Blakely, p. 3) suggests that the United States is becoming "a postindustrial society where manufacturing industry becomes less impor-

tant while service industries become more so." A new type of society is developing based on highly sophisticated technology and extensive public organization.

Family life styles in this society reflect the facts that there are more professional employees who are more highly educated, who work by thinking instead of manual labor, who are affluent, who are skilled in interpersonal relations, and who are highly mobile and cosmopolitan (Bradshaw & Blakely, 1978, p. 3). Many individuals have a shorter work week, marked increases in holidays and vacation days, and a change in the length of their working lives. They enter the work force later, retire earlier and live longer (Gentsson, 1979, p. 16). Greater diversity and flexibility exists among working patterns. Women are better educated, are delaying childbirth longer (six months longer than in 1970), and one-third return to work within one year after childbirth (*Toldeo Blade*, 11/9/79 p. 8). More and more single people are establishing their own houses with someone not related to them (a 66 percent increase in the past nine years) and are supporting themselves (*Toledo Blade*, p. 10).

There is an increase in the number of people looking for part-time work, especially among women, the very young and the old (Bengtsson, 1979, pp. 18-19). There is also an increase in work sharing and in shiftwork.

Thomas R. Scott (Garner, 1978, p. 43) states, "Social change such as the shifting structure of the labor force, the rate of technological advances, travel mobilty, and communications, all are requiring new learning which will lead to new opportunities." Greater urbanization of rural areas has been accompanied by an increase in crime, and congestion, and the development of the nuclear family (Bradshaw & Blakely, 1978, p. 9).

Bradshaw and Blakely (1978, p. 14) also point out that there has been a significant value shift altering the places of both work and family life styles in the advanced industrial society. Today workers feel they are entitled to and expect to be guaranteed a secure retirement, good medical care, the right to take part in decisions that affect their jobs, the right to work at a job that lets them do a good job and which gives them pleasure, and opportunities for higher education for everyone.

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

Government response to the new life styles mentioned above has been varied across the United States, but distinct trends are developing. As demands have increased for public support of facilities and services required by new life styles, government has struggled to develop ways to answer these demands.

At the turn of the century people who "engaged in recreation did so in private with their own facilities" (Bradshaw & Blakely, 1978, p. 4). Tennis was played on private courts, private libraries were common, and chamber music was played in the homes of the rich. Today there is public support for libraries, protected historical areas, and public television. National, state, county, and local park systems have increased dramatically. California's population doubled in 28 years but the use of its park system increased eleven times (Bradshaw & Blakely, 1978, p. 5). The demands for increased facilities—developed park land, wilderness areas, resort areas—and the need for the bureaucracy to manage and control these areas has had considerable financial implications for government.

Nine out of ten park and recreation executives across the nation report that "budgets are failing to keep up with inflation" (*Parks and Recreation*, p. 9). One director reports a "39% increase in demand for services without additional resources to meet the expanding need" (Parks and Recreation, p. 11). Many directors of recreation around the country are reporting a trend toward assessing user fees for programs to make them self-sustaining.

The factors of more leisure time, and an increase in family income have also had an effect on the demand for educational opportunities. Both men and women in their middle years are pursuing education in order to make career changes in mid-life among other reasons. No longer is the career chosen at age 18 necessarily satisfying or even in existence 20 years later. State institutions are slowly beginning to respond to the needs of these "non-traditional" students in programming and services but little financial aid is available.

The National Center for Education Statistics has collected data showing that of the "nearly 11.4 million students enrolled in U.S. colleges, universities and graduate schools,

nearly 41 percent attend part-time. These figures exclude enrollment at vocational and proprietary schools, which have even higher part-time enrollments" (Roark, 1979). Of those enrolled in credit courses it is estimated that approximately 300,000 have incomes comparable to students who are now receiving substantial amounts of government support. Unpublished census data for 1975 indicates that of the students who were heads of households or spouses, 43 percent had family incomes of less than $25,000, compared to 23 percent of the dependent students (Hearn, 1979).

A study done by Hiestand (1971, p. 144) documents that "financial aid is crucial for potential middle-aged students whether they have high or low incomes." 88 percent of the part-time participation in an adult scholarship program at Kellogg Community College in Michigan completed their courses and 75 percent said they would not have enrolled without financial assistance (Schuber & Dietz, 1978, p. 3). In the past financial aid has been given to younger full-time students on the assumption that they will remain in their field for more years than older students. The study done by Hiestand and other studies done more recently testify to the dramatic increase in mid-career mobility so that the calculation of returns on financial aid dollars must be re-evaluated.

Currently in the proposed financial aid legislation before Congress are financial aid allocations for persons attending college half-time or less.

The government has been responding to changes in life styles of older Americans during the last ten years with a variety of programs. The number of older people is expected to increase at a faster rate than the working-age population up to 1990, the number of old people over 80 will rise rather rapidly, and the health of these older persons is better than any previous generation (Bengtsson, 1979, p. 18). Many workers are forced to retired earlier than they are ready to or can afford to (Stunkel, 1979, p. 325). Government responses to economic problems have been the Older Americans Act, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967 (limited to non-federal jobs ages 40-69), the Taft Hartley Act, the Pension Reform Act of 1974, and the Social Security system, state institutions in Ohio have opened their doors to senior citizens over 65 free of charge on a space available basis, and the government provides relief on heating bills. Senior citizen programs and centers supported by state and federal funds, provide hot meals, transportation, recreational programs, and health care. Money is available from the government for the construction and renovation of senior citizen centers. Significant debate centers around the idea of whether retirement is necessary and especially whether mandatory retirement should be supported by the government (Stunkel, 1979, p. 326).

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development documents what Jarl Bengtsson describes as the "most striking recent change in the OECD counties' labor force . . . the well-known rise in the proportions of women at work" (1979, p. 18). The traditional life style of women staying in the home no longer exists. Women are marrying later, working longer before having their first child, having fewer children, and returning to work sooner. Their level of education has increased.

The government has responded to the new working patterns of women with legislation such as the Displaced Homemakers Act, with information about employment rights ("A Working Woman's Guide to Her Job Rights" produced by the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor), and services to working mothers such as day care centers. In February 1979 the Department of Health, Education and Welfare sent to Congress a report on possible alternatives for eliminating Social Security system inequities which discriminate against women.

Considerable research is being conducted on Women's life cycles and public policy. A recent conference at the University of Michigan Center for Continuing Education for Women explored many women's issues including crossovers in careers, social support networks, women in politics, women in CETA, and the public policies needed for women's work and family patterns. State agencies such as the Michigan Women's Commission and the Michigan Department of Labor, Office of Women and Work, conduct research which they use "as data for funding proposals; media reports on women and employment; and discussion material for women's groups" (*Michigan Women*). Appendix A includes a list of government organ-

izations that not only conduct research but also propose government responses to these issues. However, government response has been slow.

POLICY PLANNING PROBLEMS

In each of the policy areas discussed in the preceding section it is clear that government planning is essential in responding to the changes in life styles of today's citizens.

Bradshaw and Blakely also point out that models for predicting estimates of future demands are "only slightly better than simple trend line projections and do not reflect growing arenas of public involvement" (p. 11). They feel that without these kinds of information there is a danger of relatively narrow policies and inaccurate planning.

Another problem is that new life styles raise new public policy issues for which there are no traditional responses, nor tested patterns for decision-making. Major decisions will have to be made concerning whether it is appropriate that government should assume responsibility for providing leisure activities and facilities, financing education for all students, supporting women in the work force, providing security and employment for elderly citizens. How are limited dollars to be allocated? What level of government is appropriate for these programs? Is regional planning best for providing leisure activities? Should states provide financial aid? Are senior citizen needs to be met in local or regional facilities? Should policies apply to individuals or families?

All levels of government have mandated public participation in many of their planning programs. Often this public participation is not actively promoted and just as often the public is not interested in the broad planning stages but becomes involved only when an issue has an immediate and personal effect. Few people attend the public meetings in Bowling Green on changes in the city Master Plan for Zoning but many attend when a rezoning is proposed for the property next to their homes.

It is clear that considerable research is needed into the effects of an advanced industrial society on life styles and the way that "value changes are translated into public policy" (Bradshaw & Blakely, 1978, p. 24). Only when these value changes are understood will it be possible to adopt public policies that allow for appropriate government responses for the future.

REFERENCES

Bengtsson, Jarl. The Shape of Work to Come. *Change*. July-August 1979, 16-21.

Bradshaw, Ted K., & Blakely, Edward J. *Policy Implications of California's Changing Life Styles*. Monograph Number 3, California Policy Seminar. University of California, Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies, 1978.

Financing Part-time Students: The New Majority in Postsecondary Education. Report of the Committee on the Financing of Higher Education for Adult Students, The Office of Governmental Relations, American Council on Education, 1979.

Garner, Donald P. (Editor). *The Adult Learner, The World of Work, and Career Education* (Vol. III, The Career Educator). Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1978.

Hearn, Thomas R. *Equity in Student Aid for Independent Students and Part-time Students*. Testimony of the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, The National University Extension Association to the Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education Committee on Education and Labor, U.S. House of Representatives. May 24, 1979.

Hiestand, Dale L. *Changing Careers after Thirty Five*. New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1971.

Michigan Women. Lansing, Michigan: Michigan Women's Commission, August 1979.

Michigan Women: Occupations and Aspirations. Prepared for Michigan Women's Commission and the Michigan Department of Labor, Office of Women and Work, September 1978.

New Focus. *Parks and Recreation*. November 1979, 8-11.

Roark, Anne C. U.S. Aid Sought for Less-than-Half-time Students. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. May 21, 1979.

Schuber, Jan & Dietz, Larry H. Financial Aid for the Part-time Student. *NASPA Journal*. Autumn 1978, 3-9.

Stunkel, Edith L. Lets Abolish Retirement! *Futurist*. October, 1979, 325-328.

Toledo Blade. November 27, 1979, p. 10.

Toledo Blade. November 9, 1979, p. 8.

Tesconi, Jr., Charles A., & Morris, Van Chene. *The Anti-Culture Man: Bureautechnocracy and the Schools*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1972.

SESSION II:

CHILDREN: RELATIONSHIPS AND CONCERNS

MODERATOR: Kathleen Campbell,
Bowling Green State University

Young Children's Perceptions of Mothers and Teachers

SALLY J. KILMER
Bowling Green State University

To investigate young children's views of their socializing experiences, 40 middle class, four- and five-year-olds attending day care were interviewed about their perceptions of mothers, day care teachers, and their day care experiences. Results revealed clear, differentiated perceptions. When responding to concrete behavioral items, mothers were significantly more often seen as the provider of socializing interactions in all of the areas studied even though these children spent up to 50 hours per week interacting with other adults in day care. However, when the children generated behaviors, they generally distinguished between mothers and teachers along traditional role dimensions. The majority of children saw their day care attendance as necessary for adult related reasons. They like the same things about day care and home, the activities in which they engage. Disliked aspects of day care were reflected aspects of day care routines, socialization expectations, and disapproval/negative sanctions. Children perceived their mothers as overwhelmingly happy about their day care attendance and teachers as generally happy about it. But the majority of the children themselves were unhappy or neutral about their attendance.

Little is known about how normal young children make sense of their everyday social experiences. Information about the perceptions of either the people involved or of the experience per se is lacking.

*The author thanks the directors, staff, parents and children attending the University of Illinois Institute for Child Behavior, Children's Learning Center, Early Learning, and Children's House programs for their cooperation and participation in this study. The author is also grateful to Cindy Gramm who interviewed the children and to Joan Ciccone for her assistance with the development of the questionnaire and with the data analysis.

Interest in children's perceptions of others has focused primarily on their ability to assume the perspective of another person either visually or conceptually. The bulk of this research indicates that young children are not skilled in adapting points of view considerably different from their own (Flavell, Botkin, & Fry, 1968; Piaget, 1950; Shantz, 1975). Such research has dealt largely with relatively abstract situations, and data examining children's perceptions of their own experiences have not been obtained.

In a recent elaboration of Piaget's and Sullivan's works, Youniss and Volpe (1978) have

proposed that children learn different things from peers and adults. Interactions with adults provide children with opportunities for learning about authority, unilateral constraint, and social norms. Much earlier theorists such as Erikson (1963) and Bowlby (1969) have long considered the strong positive affectional bonds between parents and children to be critical for all later development, not just in the social domain. A social learning orientation, however, suggests that rather than viewing all adults alike, as Youniss and Volpe imply, children differentiate among adults depending on the nature of their interactions with them (Bandura, 1977).

The present study was undertaken to investigate young children's perceptions of two aspects of their daily socialization, their perceptions of the people involved (socializers) and their impressions of a social institution. Preschool children in day care were selected as the study population since day care is a common and extensive experience outside the family setting which includes both caretaking activities similar to those at home but in a contrasting context with different adults and some experiences unique to the institutional context. In regard to the perceptions of people, the study was designed to identify the behavioral characteristics which young children in day care attributed to each of the types of adults who were their primary caregivers, their mothers and their day care teachers. Based on differences in their respective roles and therefore corresponding relationships with children, in accordance with social learning theory, it was hypothesized that children would attribute different characteristics to mothers and to teachers. Specifically, it was expected that mothers would be seen as more helpful/comforting, as providers of affection/approval, and as the object of the child's positive feelings. Conversely, teachers were expected to be seen as providing interesting experiences for the children but also as being less accessible/attentive, as the enforcers of social norms by being more demanding of independence, social maturity, more disapproving and restricting, and as the object of children's negative feelings.

The second set of hypotheses were related to the children's perceptions of the day care experience per se. It was hypothesized that preschool children would see day care, not as rejection, but as a place with interesting things for them to do, and would feel positively about such experiences.

METHOD

Subjects

Subjects were 40 middle-class, four-and five-year-olds who attended day care at least five hours a day, five days a week. They comprised all of the population meeting the age, sex, and attendance criteria for subjects in three day care centers in a central Illinois University community of 100,000. Half of the children were female and half male. Ages at the time of the study ranged from 45 to 72 months, with a mean of 58.6 months. The children had spent 7 to 52 months in group day care with an average of 24.4 months. All children had been enrolled in the center in which they were tested for this study at least four months prior to being interviewed.

Procedure

Data were collected through individual interviews conducted in a private room at the child's day care center. The interview included both abstract, open-end questions and concrete, forced-choice items. There were a total of 69 questions, 6 abstract, 60 concrete (6 for each of the 10 categories of behavior identified in the people-oriented hypotheses), and 3 additional items investigating child's perceptions of teacher's, and mothers' feelings about day care attendance, and the child's own feelings about it. Examples of the open-ended items were "What do mothers do?", "Why do you come to this center?" and "What do you like best about days you stay at home?" Examples of concrete questions were "Who helps you when you get hurt?", "Who makes you do what you're supposed to?", and "Who likes to get hugs from you?"

Data were collected by a former teacher of young children who interviewed the children in two sessions. Abstract items were administered first in each session with items about what mothers and teachers asked during the first session and questions about day care asked at the beginning of the second interview.

Responses to the 60 concrete items were nonverbal with four possible alternatives. Children were asked to point to standard sized 3½" square black and white pictures of their own mothers, teachers, mother and

teacher, or nobody. A brief training procedure to insure comprehension of the procedure was administered prior to study items in each interview. To control for saliency, the pictures were displayed with the mother first for half of the subjects and with the teacher first for the other half. Procedures also included a technique to avoid a possible response set since the protocol was long. After three identical responses, the interviewer pointed to each of the pictures, naming them, and reminded the child that the answer could be any of the four alternatives.

The remaining three forced-choice items involved pointing to a happy, sad or neutral face in response to the three questions about how the children perceived their mothers' and teachers' feelings about their day care attendance and how they themselves felt.

For analyses, responses to the abstract questions were coded by an independent person not involved in the interviews, into categories corresponding to the 10 areas of the concrete questions plus additional categories as appropriate. Coding reliability was obtained by comparing coding by the interviewer with the independent coder for a random sample of six complete interviews (15% of the sample). Reliability was .90. For the concrete questions, the six items in each category were summed for each individual and the summed score used for statistical analyses. Paired *t*-tests were used to determine differences in the frequency of selecting mothers and teachers.

RESULTS

The results of the perceptions of mothers and teachers are presented first. Responses to the forced-choice questions are shown in Table 1. Mothers were chosen most frequently for 9 out of the 10 behavioral areas for the concrete items. The exception was the recipient of the child's negative feelings. In that area, other people, usually siblings or peers, were selected more often than mothers but still mothers were chosen significantly more often than teachers, 55 to 12.

Out of a possible 240 choices for each area, mothers were chosen most frequently as the providers of affection and approval (135) and as the object of the children's positive feelings (130). For these two areas, teachers received 12 and 10 responses respectively. These differences were significant beyond the .0001 level with 39 df. The t for affection and approval was 10.38 and for positive feelings, 9.03. The largest number of choices of the teacher was only 36 in the area of restriction. However, mothers were still selected more frequently than teachers (96 vs 36 times) with the difference still highly significant ($t = 4.19$; $p<.0002$).

Responses to the two open-ended questions concerning what mothers and teachers do also revealed clear differences in perceptions of these two adults. (Statistical analyses are being completed for these items, so the following data is reported only in percentages.) Out of the total of 98 responses given by the

TABLE 1. FREQUENCY OF SELECTION FOR EACH TYPE OF BEHAVIOR, FORCED CHOICE ITEMS

Type of Behavior	Mother No.	Teacher No.	Both No.	No One No.	Other People No.	Other No.
Comfort and Assistance	102**	19	72	15	23	9
Affection/Approval	135**	12	41	14	28	10
Socialization Expectations	102**	22	64	20	23	9
Restriction	96*	36	60	26	15	7
Independence Expectations	83*	30	56	34	18	19
Interesting Experiences	112**	26	59	14	17	12
Disapproval/Negative Sanctions	121**	18	26	33	30	12
Inattention	121**	13	36	32	29	9
Child's Feelings Toward:						
Negative	55**	12	38	50	65	20
Positive	130**	10	47	14	32	7

Note: Total responses for each category = 240.
*Comparisons of frequency of selecting mother vs. teacher, $p < .0002$.
**Comparisons of frequency of selecting mother vs. teacher, $p < .0001$.

children, 42% referred to the teachers as providing interesting experiences. Demands for maturity and providing comfort and assistance were the next highest areas, accounting for 12% and 11% of the total respectively.

Responses to what mothers do were both higher in total number and more varied. Children saw mothers most frequently as housekeepers (22% of the total 123) and as pursuing an education or a career (15%). Taking physical care of the child and providing interesting experiences each accounted for 13% of the responses. Providing comfort/assistance and affection/approval each received only 6.5% of the total when the children generated the behaviors.

The response to the question, "Why do you come to this center/school?", 52% of the 77 answers reflected adult centered reasons, such as their mother works, father says they have to, or no one is at home to care for them. Approximately 42% gave reasons related to their needs or interests such as specific activities, play, or friends. When asked what their mother does while they (the children) were in day care, 75% indicated working or going to school.

The things children most liked about day care were the activities (48% of 85 responses), opportunities for play (16%), and aspects of physical care (12%). Disliked aspects of day care were more evenly distributed. The most disliked were the physical care, especially food and naps (27% of 45 responses), socialization expectations and disapproval/negative sanctions 16% each of the disliked responses. The activities/experiences were mentioned 13%.

Although the children gave fewer responses about what they like about the days they stayed at home, the pattern was similar. Forty percent of the 67 responses mentioned activities, and 24% play. The third most popular response was watching television (22%).
television (22%).

The final items on the interview examined the child's perceptions of the feelings of his/her mother and teacher about the child's day care attendance and the child's own feelings. Children overwhelmingly (89%) reported their mothers as happy about their day care attendance. They also picked the happy face 60% of the time for teachers' feelings. In response to how they themselves felt about coming to day care, only 40% chose the happy face. The remainder were evenly divided between the neutral and sad/mad face.

DISCUSSION

These results clearly indicate that four-and five-year-olds have differentiated perceptions of adults in their lives who perform many similar caregiving activities. When forced to respond to a range of socialization activities, they overwhelmingly select their mother as the person who does everything. However, when these young children generated their own conceptions of mothers and teachers, they differentiated the two along more traditional role lines. Mothers were seen as housekeepers and as working or in school. Teachers provided interesting activites.

Children also had definite conceptions about what they liked and didn't like about day care and home. Likes for both home and day care centered around activities they enjoyed and friends. Additionally at home, children liked TV which was not available in the day care centers participating in the study.

Although these results supported the underlying assumptions of the study, that young children differentiate among adults, the differences were not always in the expected direction. Even when children spend about half of their waking time in day care, they still view their mothers as the major socializers. In addition, even though they identified more aspects which they liked about day care than about being at home, the majority were not happy about attending day care. This last finding is in some ways the most disturbing result of the study. The reasons for this response are unclear. One possibility is that quality of the day care experience may not have been "good." Some support for such an hypothesis comes from the researcher's observation that two of the centers studied provided more individualized and appropriate experiences for young children than did the third program. The latter included more large group and didactic curriculum. A larger proportion of the children in this center selected the sad face, 44% compared with 0 and 28% for the other two. Conversely, fewer children in the third center chose the happy face, 31% compared with 50% and 44% in the other centers.

In addition to examining the effects of quality day care experiences on children's perceptions, future research also needs to investigate the accuracy of perceptions and the effects of perceptions on the behavior of the children involved.

REFERENCES

Bandura, A. *Social learning theory*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1977.

Bowlby, J. *Attachment and loss. Vol. 1: Attachment.* New York: Basic Books, 1969.

Erikson, E. *Childhood and society* (2nd ed.). New York: W. W. Norton, 1963.

Flavell, J. H., Botkin, P. T., & Fry, C. L., Jr. *The Development of role-taking and communication skills in young children.* New York: Wiley, 1968.

Piaget, J. *The psychology of intelligence.* New York: Harcourt Brace, 1950.

Shantz, C. U. The development of social cognition. In E. Mavis Hetherington (Ed.). *Review of child development 5.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975.

Youniss, J., & Volpe, J. A relational analysis of children's friendship. *New Directions for Child Development,* 1978.

Body Build Stereotypes as a Product of Social Learning

PATSY MORRIS
Kent State University

This paper will discuss body build stereotypes and the age at which they appear. Body build stereotypes have been found to exist in people from six years of age through adulthood. This study was designed to determine if a group of three-, four-, and five-year-old children exhibited the same stereotypes relating to the mesomorphic, ectomorphic, and endomorphic body builds that have been found consistently among older subjects. The older subjects judged the endomorph and ectomorph to be less favorable than the mesomorph and professed a desire to look like the mesomorph.

An instrument was devised to judge the presence of the stereotypes. A checklist of age-appropriate adjectives was compiled, similar to checklists found in the literature relating to identification of body build stereotypes. Also included as a part of the instrument were stimulus drawings of the three body builds. Children were asked to assign each item from the adjective checklist to one of the three stimulus drawings. Each subject was asked to select the body build that he perceived himself to look like.

Chi-*square analysis was used to determine if any one item was attributed more often to a particular body build than to any other, as well as to determine if a larger number of subjects correctly identified their own body builds than did not. There appeared to be no support for all age groups for the hypotheses that the endomorphic and ectomorphic body builds would be assigned unfavorable adjectives, while the mesomorphic body build would be assigned more favorable adjectives.*

It was concluded that the three-, four-, and five-year-old children in this study did not exhibit body build stereotypes consistent with the literature. The five-year-olds did show some evidence of body build stereotypes but not to an extent that would allow for the acceptance of the hypotheses. A larger number of five-year-olds correctly identified their own body builds, but again not enough to allow for acceptance of the hypothesis.

Recent research in this area has suggested that the commonly held stereotypes are a result of social learning theory as opposed to the more traditional view of William Sheldon that the observed stereotypes were based on biological inclination. The findings of the present study appear to substantiate the social learning interpretations, as the younger subjects did exhibit an expected negative view of the endomorph, although not to an extent to deem it significant.

It is a long held notion that the body build of a person is related to the personality of that person. In the early 1940's William Sheldon (1940) hypothesized that there are definite biologically determined associations between body build and temperament, the study of which he referred to as constitutional psychology. Sheldon identified three predominant body types: endomorphic, mesomorphic, and ectomorphic. He characterized the endomorph as having a predominance of soft roundness, exhibiting such traits as jolly, carefree, and friendly. The ectomorph has a predominance of linearity and fragility exhibiting such traits as introversion, inhibition, and instability. The mesomorph has a predominance of muscle, bone, and connective tissue, and exhibits such characteristics as honesty, strength, and bravery. Sheldon hypothesized that the relationships observed were biological—an endomorph would behave as the stereotype would have it because of biological predetermination.

Numerous researchers (Brodsky, 1954; Walker, 1962; Staffieri, 1967; Staffieri, 1972; Lerner and Gellert, 1969; Lerner and Korn, 1972) have documented that in many instances these commonly held stereotypes do exist among subjects age six years through adulthood. The presence of these stereotypes has been supported through self evaluation, researcher evaluation, and subject evaluation of others. Upon acceptance that the stereotypes do exist, researchers began to look for reasons behind the existence of the stereotypes, rejecting Sheldon's theory of a biological base for relationships between body build and temperament. It has been suggested by Lerner (1969) that the stereotypes are not caused by genetics, but instead by positive and negative reinforcement of the stereotypes. Young children are subjected to stereotyping as a part of their socialization within their culture. Once a stereotype is learned, a cycle begins that is difficult to break: children learn a stereotype, they perceive their body type and corresponding personality traits, then act in accordance with the stereotype, which leads to more reinforcement of the body build stereotype. Reported research studies tell us that body build stereotypes are observable in children as young as six years (Brodsky, 1954; Walker, 1962; Staffieri, 1967; Staffieri, 1972; Lerner and Gellert, 1969; Lerner and Korn, 1972).

The purpose of this study was to determine the validity of the hypothesis that social learning is the means by which body build stereotyping is perpetuated and to identify at what age body build stereotyping becomes evident. Children (aged three, four, and five years) were tested by use of an instrument that required the preschoolers to assign thirty specific adjectives to stimulus drawings of figures of the three body builds: endomorphic, ectomorphic, and mesomorphic.

Subjects

Ninety children, aged three; four; and five-years old, were used as subjects. Thirty children were in each age group. Of these children, seventy-five were enrolled in a university laboratory preschool, and the remaining fifteen were enrolled in a private, half-day program in the same city. Their ages ranged from 36 months through 71 months. Mean age for the three-year-old subjects was 43.9 months; for the four-year-olds, 54.9; and for the five-year-olds, 64.7.

Instrument

A list of thirty adjectives was compiled from similar lists found in the literature (Brodsky, 1954; Lerner, 1969; Lerner & Korn, 1972; Staffieri, 1967; Staffieri, 1972) and from teachers, each trained in child development and currently teaching a university preschool laboratory. A major consideration in compiling the adjective checklist was that each adjective be understood by each child tested. Initially an extensive list of over sixty adjectives was submitted to the teachers in the laboratory schools. The teachers were asked to evaluate each adjective to determine if a three-, four-, or five-year-old child could comprehend its meaning. Thirty of those adjectives, or adjective phrases, were accepted by all of the teachers and included in the checklist. Before administering the test, the teacher of each group to be tested evaluated the list to insure that the children in the classroom understood each adjective. No items were deleted.

Line drawings of three full body silhouettes, representing endomorphs, ectomorphs, and mesomorphs, were used as stimuli. Each silhouette was approximately nine inches tall and had the same head shape and facial design. The drawings were standardized by Lerner and used in several of his studies relating

to somatotype stereotyping (Lerner, 1969; Lerner & Gellert, 1969; Lerner & Korn, 1972). The drawings were mounted, separately, onto black construction board. Six such mats were constructed with the drawings in different order: endomorph, mesomorph, ectomorph; mesomorph, endomorph, ectomorph; mesomorph, ectomorph, endomorph; endomorph, ectomorph, mesomorph; ectomorph, endomorph, mesomorph; and ectomorph, mesomorph, endomorph.

Fifteen children, three of each age group, participated in a pilot test conducted to determine if the children could respond to the drawings and the checklist in the desired way. Each child was able to assign the adjectives to the stimulus drawings. The responses of the children in the pilot study were not included in the statistical analysis.

Procedure

Prior to administration of the instrument; the investigator visited in each classroom in order to gain familiarity with the children. Each child was taken individually to a room away from the classroom. At the time of the testing, the room used for testing was being used for no other purpose.

Subjects were incidentally assigned to particular mats to be used with the adjective checklist to prevent the emergence of significant results as a function of the order of the drawings. Each mat was used five times with each age group, for a total of fifteen times.

The child was presented with the matted stimulus drawings, and asked to point to the picture that was like the adjective given. An example would be: "point to the child who is brave" or "which child would be the best friend?" The investigator then recorded on the score sheet the drawing the subject pointed to or named. The administration of the instrument took approximately eight to ten minutes per child.

Each child's responses to the thirty items were noted on the adjective checklist by a checkmark. The marks were tallied to find the number of responses for each somatotype for each adjective. A tally was done for each age group and then for the entire sample.

Children's responses were analyzed by computing a *chi* square statistic to determine whether an adjective was assigned to a particular body type significantly more often than to any one of the other body types. Each age group was analyzed separately to determine differences found by age. Results are shown in the accompanying table. (See Table 1).

Results

For the three-year-old children three adjectives were found to be significant at the $p < .05$ level: *ugly, fights*; and *fast*. A larger number of subjects designated the endomorphic line drawing to be *ugly*. For the item *fights*, more chose the endomorph, and less chose the ectomorph. More subjects chose the ectomorph to represent the item *fast*. Fewer subjects chose the endomorph as the *fast* one.

Three adjectives were found to be significant at the $p < .05$ level for four-year-olds: *brave, eats the most, fights*. More four-year-olds described the endomorph as being brave. A smaller number of subjects reported the endomorph as the one who *eats the most*. A small number attributed this trait to each of the other two somatotypes. The four-year-olds chose the endomorph more times as the one who would fight; the ectomorph was selected fewer times as the one who would *fight*.

A larger number of significant adjectives emerged from the five-year-old group. Responses for seven adjectives were found to be significantly different: *brave, shares, eats the most, eats the least, ugly, fast*, and *least best friend*. Like the four-year-olds, more subjects assigned *brave* to the endomorph than to the mesomorph. More subjects assigned the trait *shares* to the mesomorph and less assigned it to the endomorph. The endomorph was chosen more often as the *ugly* somatotype and the mesomorph was assigned it least of all. The five-year-olds were very nearly in agreement when choosing which would you not like *for your best friend?*; twenty-two of the thirty subjects assigned it to the endomorph, three to the mesomorph, and five to the ectomorph. More subjects believed that the ectomorph was *fast*, while less attributed fast to the endomorph.

Conclusions

It appeared that body build stereotyping was limited among three- and four-year-old children. There appeared to be some evidence that five-year-old children do some stereotyping but not of the intensity found by Lerner and Korn (1972) and by Staffieri (1967).

The findings of this study suggest that five-year-olds have more awareness of stereotypes

TABLE 1. FREQUENCY OF ASSIGNMENT OF EACH ADJECTIVE TO EACH SOMATOTYPE (N = 90)

	Three-year-olds				Four-year-olds				Five-year-olds			
Adjective	Endo	Meso	Ecto	X^2	Endo	Meso	Ecto	X^2	Endo	Meso	Ecto	X^2
Brave	7	11	12	1.4	15	4	11	6.2*	15	2	13	9.8*
Loud	15	7	8	3.8	10	15	5	5.0*	10	15	5	5.0
Large	8	13	9	1.4	6	9	5	4.2	10	12	8	.8
Remembers	12	11	7	1.4	8	10	12	.8	9	8	13	1.4
Does not tease	8	11	11	.6	11	8	11	.8	5	13	12	3.8
Forgets	9	11	10	.2	10	13	7	1.8	10	10	10	0.0
Dirty	9	8	13	1.4	10	11	9	.2	13	7	10	1.8
Sick	9	12	9	.6	9	9	12	.6	10	8	12	.8
Afraid	14	7	9	2.6	11	12	7	1.4	8	14	8	2.6
Selfish	10	10	10	0.0	12	6	12	2.4	16	8	6	5.6
Slow	8	10	12	.8	6	14	10	3.2	8	9	13	1.4
Quiet	13	12	5	3.8	10	7	13	1.8	9	9	12	.6
Small	6	11	13	2.6	10	10	10	0.0	10	7	13	1.8
Shares	6	15	9	4.2	13	9	8	1.4	5	17	8	7.8*
Sad	15	9	6	4.2	9	13	8	1.4	12	8	10	.8
Healthy	8	9	13	1.4	8	11	11	.6	7	12	11	1.4
Best friend	6	12	12	2.4	8	13	9	1.4	11	6	7	2.6
Eats the most	14	7	9	2.6	18	7	5	9.8*	17	6	7	7.4*
Eats the least	6	11	13	2.6	7	7	16	5.4	5	9	16	6.2*
Runs the slowest	9	13	8	1.4	9	12	9	2.6	7	15	8	3.8
Happy	9	9	12	.6	7	14	9	2.6	9	7	14	2.6
Teases	11	7	12	1.4	13	9	10	1.8	9	13	8	1.4
Clean	8	11	11	.6	11	9	10	.2	12	9	9	.6
Ugly	16	4	10	7.2*	14	10	6	3.2	15	4	11	6.2*
Pretty	8	13	9	1.4	15	8	12	.8	7	11	12	1.4
Which would you not like for your best friend	7	13	10	1.8	11	9	10	.2	22	3	5	21.8*
Fights	18	8	4	10.4*	17	8	5	7.8	24	8	8	2.4
Fast	5	9	16	6.2*	7	9	14	2.6	5	8	17	7.8*
Does not fight	8	14	8	2.4	8	7	15	3.8	9	9	12	.6
Runs fastest	8	14	9	1.4	11	13	6	2.6	6	12	12	2.4

Note: Endo = Endomorph; Meso = Mesomorph; Ecto = Ectomorph.

*$p < .05$.

than three-and four-year-olds. This supports Lerner's theory that body build stereotypes are a product of social learning. The sample for this study was comprised primarily of children enrolled in half-day preschools who had not yet encountered the strong influence of middle childhood peer groups that are found in traditional school settings. It would be important to conduct a similar experiment with five-year-olds enrolled in public school kindergartens and all-day comprehensive child care centers to determine if those children would have more stereotypical view of body builds than children enrolled in university laboratory schools.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brodsky, C. M. *A study of norms for body form-behavior relationships.* Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1954.

Lerner, R. M. The development of stereotyped expectancies of body build-behavior relations. *Child Development,* 1969, **40,** 137-141.

Lerner, R. M. & Gellert, E. Body build identification, preference, and aversion in children. *Developmental Psychology,* 1969, **1,** 456-462.

Lerner, R. M. & Korn, S. J. The development of body build stereotypes in males. *Child Development,* 1972, **43,** 908-920.

Sheldon, W., Stevens, S. S., & Tucker, W. B. *The varieties of human physique.* Daseen, Connecticut: Hasfner Publishing Company, 1940.

Staffieri, J. R. A study of social stereotypes of body image in children. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 1967, **7,** 101-104.

Staffieri, J. R. Body build and behavioral expectancies in young females. *Developmental Psychology,* 1972, **6,** 125-127.

Walker, R. N. Body build behavior in young children: I. Body build and nursery school teacher's ratings. *Monographs of the Society for Research on Child Development,* 1962, **27** (3, Serial No. 84).

As the Twig is Bent: Sex-Role Socialization in the United States

KATHLEEN CAMPBELL
Bowling Green State University

This paper deals with the socialization of female children as it differs from that of male children in American society. The paper will cover research in the behavioral sciences which has looked at the differential socialization of boys and girls in the following areas:

1. *Hospital nurseries*
2. *Dress of infants and consequent labeling*
3. *Toys in infancy*
4. *Contents of children's rooms*
5. *Toys—packaging, marketing and retailing*
6. *Media*
   a. *television programming*
   b. *commercials*
   c. *children's books*
   d. *magazines*

The paper concentrates on the socialization of children from birth through age 6 years since by the age of 6 most children's gender identity is firmly fixed. The research covered is only that in which cultural institutions have had a major role in the development and continuation of differing sex-role expectations even where such differing expectations may no longer be appropriate.

This paper deals with the developmental processes children follow on their way to adulthood. More specifically, it deals with the growth and development of male children as it differs from that of female children in the United States. There is a good deal of data (both physiological and psychological in nature) which points up the fact that male and female children are very much alike (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974), but American culture, like most cultures, begins the process of socializing males and females differently from the moment of birth. Quite obviously, we as a society, reinforce stereotypical sex roles in our children, as the research outlined in this paper will indicate.

As anyone who has visited a hospital nursery recently will know, hospital personnel label children as male or female for staff and visitors through the use of pink and blue blankets or identification cards—pink for girls and blue for boys. People tend to react to infants differently depending on whether they think they are boys or girls. Rubin, Provenzano and Luria (1974) noted that adults describe female infants as little, beautiful, delicate and frail and male infants as firm, more alert, stronger and better coordinated

even when the weight, length and Apgar scores of the infants show no significant differences. Several studies have demonstrated that adults react differently to the *same infant* when that infant is presented to some people as a boy and to others as a girl (Meyer and Sobiszek, 1972; Will, Self, and Datan, 1974). Adults are apt to hold female infants more closely, and to smile at them and speak to them more, while being "rougher" (i.e., bouncing, holding up to the ceiling, etc.) with male infants.

There have been numerous studies dealing with sex-role socialization in preschoolers (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). This is a crucial time for such socialization as most experts feel that one's gender identity becomes *firmly* established during the years from 2.5 to 5 (Money & Earhardt, 1974). One interesting study of the "subtle" ways in which Americans socialize their children in this area looked at the content of children's rooms (Rheingold & Cook, 1975). It was found that little girls' rooms are most likely to be pink with curtains and bedspreads made of fine, soft material in pastel shades. The toys available are dolls, stuffed animals and housekeeping toys (stoves, dishes, brooms, etc.). The message we are sending our daughters is clear: take care of your pretty room as you learn to be a woman who will take care of a pretty home and family! Boys' rooms, on the other hand, tend to contain heavy, dark furniture, to be blue or brown in color, and to have bedspreads and curtains made of heavy, dark "serviceable" fabric. The toys in such a room consist of transportation toys (trucks, cars, trains, etc.) and sports equipment—possible footballs, bats, hockey sticks, and, nearly always, a baseball and bat. Thus, the messages we send our sons are equally clear; you are male, and as such, active, rough and unable to care for fine things.

Books are generally available to children of either sex, but what sort of books? Livingston (1974) studied picture books of the sort most often read to children aged 1-5 years and discovered that books about boys outnumbered books about girls by a ratio of six to one. Additionally, it was found that books that won the Caledecott award for excellence in children's literature had titles that included the names of men three times as often as they had titles that included the names of women. Key in 1971 found that books available to young children made no mention of working mothers although approximately 40% of the mothers of preschoolers were employed outside the home.

Stewvig and Higg (1973) found that picture books available for ages 1-5 years were sex-stereotyped even when selected by a university education department. Only 65% of such books even portray women—the rest involve men only, animals, or concepts such as numbers or the alphabet. Of books which did mention women, 85% portrayed women as homemakers. 15% showed women working outside the home in the following professions (shown in order of the percentage of women so employed):

1) teaching
2) domestic service (maids)
3) members of religious orders
4) retail sales
5) nursing
6) serving as flight attendants.

No woman appeared as a lawyer, physician or a scientist!

In terms of other media, children are perhaps most affected by television as they spend a good deal of time watching television. Advertising on television is a particular menace as there is good evidence to suggest that children up to the age of six years pay more attention to commercial advertisements than to programs due to their limited attention span. In watching television commercials they "learn" a good deal about women! They learn that:

1) Failure to perform one's wifely tasks results in the disapproval of other adults—as in the "Ring Around the Collar" ads.
2) A women's place is in the home.
3) Women are envious of other women.
4) Women are dependent on men to tell them what products they should use.
5) Women are valuable either as housekeepers or as sex objects. (Melville, 1977)

All of this research with infants and young children illustrates that we point our male and female children in different directions from their earliest years. This would not be a particularly alarming occurrence if the rigid sex-role differentiation of adult males and adult females were still appropriate in our society today. However, in 1980, the majority of adult women are employed outside their homes and the majority of adult men are

called on to perform many homemaking and parenting chores. Thus, the roles of adult males and females are becoming more and more similar. Our children should be exposed —through toys, books, interactions with adults, and media presentations—to the expectation that all people, male and female, will choose meaningful employment *and* will make significant contributions to society as family members.

REFERENCES

Key, M. R. Role of male and female in children's books: Dispelling all doubt. *Wilson Library Journal*, 1971, **46**, 167-176.

Livingston, M. C. Children's literature: In chaos, a creative weapon. *The Reading Teacher*, 1974, **27**, 534-539.

Maccoby, E. & Jacklin, C. *The psychology of sex differences*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974.

Melville, K. *Marriage and family today*. New York: Random House, 1977.

Meyer, J. W. & Sobieszek, B. I. Effect of a child's sex on adult interpretations of its behavior. *Developmental Psychology*, 1972, **6**, 42-48.

Money, J. & Earhardt, A. *Man and woman, boy and girl*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1972.

Rheingold, H. & Cook, K. The contents of boys' and girls' rooms as an index of parents' behavior. *Child Development*, 1975, **46**, 459-463.

Rubin, J. Z., Provenzano, F. J. & Luria, Z. The eye of the beholder: Parents' views on sex of newborns. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1974, **44**, 512-519.

Stewig, J. W. & Higgs, M. Girls grow up to be mommies. *Library Journal*, 1973, **98**, 236-241.

Will, J., Self, P. & Datan, N. Nursery stereotypes. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Convention, New Orleans, August, 1974.

Growing Up in Two Worlds: Reports from Africa

WANDA MONTGOMERY
Bowling Green State University

Stories about their own early childhood were written by 18 women students between 18 and 24 years of age. At the time of writing, the women were all second year university students in a small African country where technological changes have been introduced during their lifetime at a fairly rapid pace.

Most of the parents were government or business leaders and followed traditions to a limited extent only. The contrasts in each child's life were evident from the time of birth to their entering school and this is characterized as their "two worlds."

Christian baptism versus witchcraft; named for Christian saints and for the soil covering a dead sister's grave; a child's imported tricycle or a maize cob "doll" carried on the back; and birth in the country's most modern hospital but visits to witch doctors when serious illness strikes. These are some of the contrasts identified as the stories are analyzed.

Extended visits—up to nine years—to the homes of grandparents or other relatives living in the most traditional village conditions varied from those of parents; differences in temptations experienced and expectations of adult discipline—all appear to contribute to what is referred to as naughtiness by the reporters. Contrasts within individual lives as well as within the group are discussed.

Few of the authors appear to recognize their two-world childhood but one sums it up as follows: "If I compare my childhood with other children, I had a better one because I experienced farm and village life plus town life. Since my grandmother (was well to do) . . . I enjoyed my childhood; but I felt sorry for my playmates who had no clothes, not enough food, and were thin and weak." This acknowledges some of the physical differences, but what are the effects of the social, economic, and perhaps psychological two worlds in which they have lived?

Countries throughout the world which have recently gained independence have given much attention to development programs. For various reasons these programs stress economic development and in the past families and the children being socialized by these families have rarely been considered. These children live sometimes in the traditional village, extended family, prescientific environment which has continued until today in many parts of the world. At other times they have been with their scientifically trained parents, in a nuclear family unit, with many of the conveniences of twentieth century urban life.

When planning to teach a child development class in the University of a small African country, an attempt was made to ascertain some of the important influences on such students' early years. Eighteen women students were each asked to write a paper about the years of their lives prior to going to school. They were given oral suggestions only about certain topics which could be included, if pertinent. Later during the term these same students completed a questionnaire about the childhood work of their grandmothers, mothers and themselves.

The autobiographies written by these students served as the basis of this paper, al-

though some information from the three-generation childhood work reports has been incorporated. The individual stories contained some information which could be tabulated and this has been presented, but more of this paper is concerned with examples taken from the reports.

Two lineage backgrounds are represented by these students with seven from a tribe with matrilineal characteristics; eight from a tribe with patrilineal characteristics; and the three remaining from smaller tribal groups that are also matrilineal and from a mixed marriage with one parent from each of the major tribal groups. From the information given, there were no identifiable differences related to the ethnic group represented.

Slightly more than one half reported that they were born in a hospital or medical clinic. Others were not specific although some reported being born in the village because the nearest hospital or clinic was too far from that location. One wrote that she was born outside the house because it was considered bad luck if twins were born. She explained that mothers gave birth in the out-of-doors to prevent a building having to be destroyed along with all furnishings and other items found there, if birth of twins should occur.

Seven mentioned being born into Christian families. Others did not mention this although it is likely that well over 85%, if not 100%, considered themselves or their families to be Christian. In spite of this, six also reported instances of witchcraft that occurred during their early years. A much higher proportion, if not all of the students, exhibited a belief in witchcraft and stated the need to avoid people who have special magical powers.

Four of the students' fathers were reported to be teachers; three were health or medical workers with the same number employed by the Ministry of Agriculture; and of the remainder those whose occupations were identified were in business or religious work. Only two of the mothers were identified with employment outside the home, one a teacher and the other a nurse. For the most part mothers were involved in farming and caring for household needs.

Three of the students were first born, two were last born, one was an only child and 12 were in some other position of the birth order. The number of children in the families varied from one to ten with an average of 5.4 living children per family. Several reported many children born into their families who died in infancy and one student reported that ten of her mother's children had died while only one brother had survived with her. In most, if not all instances, those reported were full brothers and sisters. Two reported that their fathers had second wives but did not mention any children born to that marriage.

Various favorite toys were mentioned with a majority having toys of clay made by a friend or relative. Most stated that their father had purchased toys for them—perhaps a doll or something made of plastic. The favorite game appeared to be "hide and seek" with seven mentioning this as one they remembered enjoying. Several reported using maize cobs as play materials and one described swimming as her favorite play. For those growing up in the village, imitative play including pounding of maize using the mortar and pestle was often mentioned.

That these young women were born on the edge of two worlds was possibly most noticeable in the names they were given. Many were named for a grandmother which appeared to be a family tradition in matrilineal families. Almost the same number, however, were named for a person admired by either the mother or father. Both an African and an European name were given to most of the women reporting. European names were given at the time of baptism or when entering school. Those reporting only European names had been named for a respected person with an European name such as Helen for Helen Keller and Agnes for St. Agnes.

African names usually expressed an emotion or concern of the family at the time of birth. Some examples were: Abibi—to be brave (the mother had given birth with no one present to assist her); Saykani—being troubled; Masozi—tears; Mphatsa—a gift; Kasimbi—only girls in the family; Kondwani—be happy (one with this name said her European name was Joyce); Donga—soil or earth; Rudo—love for mother; Chiwalitso—what makes one forget (death of a grandmother); Andipakula—one selected; Chisamba—first born; Suzgika—trouble will follow; and Wotchiwe—arrested (her father had just been put in prison for political reasons).

One named "Kondwani: cried much of the time during her early days. She had been

named this because her parents were rejoicing at her birth after a girl child had died. To stop her continuous crying, the grandfather performed a special ceremony at the dead sister's grave where she was renamed Dongo. This means soil or dust, the dead sister's present condition.

The child named "tears" because no one expected her to survive (after the parents had 10 children to die while quite young) had her name changed to that of the doctor who had supplied the pills which her mother had taken during this unusual, successful pregnancy with survival of the child past infancy. Fortunately, or not, none of these young women had been given any of the rather unusual English language word-names such as those noticed on one year's list of diplomates and graduates of the university, i.e., Ambidexterous, Brain, Wisdom, Space, Modify and Pyrex.

One event which many of the young women talked about was their first visit to the grandparent's home, maternal if a member of a matrilineal ethnic group and paternal if a patrilineal family. In the words of one student "A visit was arranged to introduce me to kinsmen . . . where everyone who came . . . had to give (me) in (my) tiny hands a tambala*. Failure to give this . . . meant not seeing the child. . . . Grandmother was strict about this. . . . On this visit my mother had to give her maternity gowns to grandmother and the baby's first wrapping cloths. . . . (Failure to do this) would invite a bad omen."

Several told of being given a goat upon their first visit to the family that had named them. Usually visits were made to the grandparents at one month, when the child started crawling, at the appearance of the first tooth and/or when she started talking.

More than half of these young women described extended visits to the homes of maternal grandmothers or mother's older sisters. These visits varied from two months to nine years in length but seemed to correspond to the birth of another child two or three years after their own birth. Most seemed to stay on with the grandmother or aunt during the mother's next pregnancy and until their sibling was a year old or older. Most described the beginning of the visit as a time of continuous crying but at the end of two years or more each had completely forgotten her own mother. Usually village life with cousins was seen as a carefree, happy time. Some, however, reported that they had been seriously "spoiled" by grandmother who was not "permitted" to punish the child of a son-in-law since that child did not belong to her.

Contrasts between life with parents and staying with grandmother included one who had learned to sleep with an electric light switched on in her sleeping area at her parents home. In grandmother's village there was no electricity and in the young student's words "I could not sleep because there were no lights and usually when darkness arrived, I cried until dawn."

Another problem for many was the difference not only in the kinds of food, but in the way it was served and eaten. Many indicated early pampering by parents who provided special imported formula and foods, but later with cousins in the village, first come and strongest child at the communal pot ate best. Many reported fighting and biting older cousins because their elders ate all the best of the stew before the younger, weaker, newcomers learned the rules of the game.

Naughty behavior was described by a majority. A large number of these told of stealing sugar, biscuits (cookies) and/or milk. Others said that jealousy of younger brothers and sisters was their naughty behavior. The conflict introduced by the two world situation was especially apparent in descriptions of misbehavior. An example was one who had been given a bicycle by her father which she refused to permit playmates to touch. Another burned all of her clothes so that father would have to buy her new garments because she was jealous of the new uniforms he had bought for cousins to wear when attending school. (The oldest son was responsible for the education of his sisters' children in the matrilineal system.)

Since students were asked to end their stories with their starting to school, all described this event in their lives. Some indicated much interest in attending school at an early age, especially when older brothers and sisters were already in school. One-half of these girls started school when six years of age, but four started when they were five and another reported having to delay until the sixth year because of problems with asthma. Those starting school at age five had parents who worked closely with Europeans (as did the parents of the one who delayed because of

asthma) or lived nearby a school. Another group of four reported starting months after their seventh birthday. Two of these appeared to have had some health problems that caused them to start late, but two reported dislike of school and strategies used to avoid school attendance. The two who lived with grandmother for periods of seven and nine years respectively started school very late—one at eight years of age and the other one probably at an even older age. These were the only two who reported that grandfathers paid some of their early school fees. The father paid fees for most of the others although mothers paid in two or three instances. No one reported grandmothers paying school fees. One who started school at age seven walked four miles to school and four miles back home. Her mother walked part way with her each morning.

This is a partial review of the autobiographies of the 18 women students. Each was in her second year of a university diploma course at the time of writing her story. How much had those early years affected these students' abilities to adapt to the life and intellectual pursuits expected of university students? These students were atypical of their peers. They were able to successfully reach their current academic level. They were perhaps one percent or less of the group who had started school when they did. These were the survivors. In a country of about seven million population, these 18 represented more than 20% of that year's female survivors in the academic world.

These subjects had spent their growing up years partially under the influence of traditional African village life with communal eating pots, magic and witchcraft, and play imitating grandmother's daily activities. The stories told only about the pre-school years, not about the beatings sometimes referred to as a part of village school life. Neither did they discuss boarding school days which all had experienced; nor was mention made of the one girl's prior year spent as an outpatient at a mental institution.

Perhaps the two who experienced the two worlds most completely can best summarize the feelings of the group. Rose commented "I seem to face too many problems thinking about what I should do today, tomorrow or in the future but not at childhood. If it were possible I could surely go back to my childhood and experience the easy and simple life once more."

Mary expressed a somewhat different viewpoint "If I compare my childhood with other children, I had a better one because I experienced farm and village life plus town life. Since my grandmother is somehow well doing (well-to-do) I enjoyed my childhood. But I felt sorry for my playmate who had no clothes, not enough food, thin and weak. I was healthy and strong."

Nostalgia, yes, but both girls revealed insight into the problems created by the past as preparation for the future, so different from grandparents and parents. All experienced to some degree the traditional life of the grandparents as well as the modifications introduced by their parents, although the personal value conflicts and the inner tensions in the life of a transitional people have not been explored. The "two worlds" encountered have made these women vitally aware of the differences and their effects in the three generation lifespan. Perhaps this is the best way to prepare future leaders of a country in the process of moving quickly into the technology and techniques of the late 20th Century.

SESSION III:

INTEGRATING CAREERS AND FAMILIES

MODERATOR: Albert Lovejoy,
Otterbein College

Work Motivation of Mothers of Infants

JOHNNIE HORST BUDKE
Columbus Technical Institute

The increase in working mothers since World War II has been discussed in the literature and employed mothers have been questioned about their reasons for working. The increase in maternal employment has been viewed as a complex phenomenon related to many other changes in our society, especially social, cultural, economic, and technological. Some of these changes include a changing economy; industrialization; more white collar jobs; increased leisure time; rise in educational level of women; smaller families and more liberal, permissive, and equalitarian attitudes toward family life.

A specific objective of the study was to determine the differences between working and nonworking mothers of infants with respect to their work values.

One hundred eighty-one mothers of infants were selected to participate in the study from maternity ward surveys to two Columbus, Ohio hospitals. Ninety-nine mothers had worked outside the home for financial compensation or attended school during the first year of their infant's life. The remaining 82 mothers did not work outside the home for financial compensation.

The Reasons for Working Scale (Eyde, 1959), is a ranked work value scale, factor analyzed to produce six work value factors. At infant age one year, mothers were asked to rank 14 sets of six work value items. The six work values reflect psychological needs and are defined as the expressed need for: 1) mastery-achievement value, 2) independence value, 3) dominance-recognition value, 4) interesting activity-variety value, 5) economic value, and 6) social value.

There were significant differences between working and non-working mothers of infants on the work value assigned to fulfilling social needs. This seems to suggest that more nonworking women assigned work as the value of fulfilling social needs. The nonworking mothers saw work more as a way of escaping loneliness, boredom, lack of stimulation, or the monotony of child rearing than did working mothers.

The increase in working mothers since World War II has been discussed in the literature and employed mothers have been questioned about their reasons for working. The increase in maternal employment has been viewed as a complex phenomenon related to many other changes in our society especially social, cultural, economic, and technological. Some of these changes include a changing economy; industrialization; more white collar jobs; in-

creased leisure time; rise in educational level of women; smaller families and more liberal, permissive, and equalitarian attitudes toward family life.

The number of children with mothers in the labor force has increased sharply. In 1970, one-third of all mothers with at least one child under six were employed. Almost 42 percent of the mothers with children under three had worked some time during 1969 (Waldman and Grover, 1971).

Today's attitudes toward maternal employment are changing rapidly. Rapoport and Rapoport (1969), in their study of dual-career professional families, noted the increased emphasis on partnership in family life and the awareness on the part of such families of possible effects on their children.

Wortis (1971) suggested that young mothers often have ambivalent feelings about the responsibilities of motherhood. They express feelings of boredom, isolation, and conflicts about working. Conflicts about working were revealed in the mother's concern over endangering her infant's well being and doubts about finding adequate child care.

Nye and Hoffman (1963) found that mothers' motives for working are divided into three interrelated groups: monetary, social role (housewife and mother roles), and personality factors. They suggest that motives are complex, even the economic motive, as it may relate not only to actual financial need but perceived financial need or desires. Unlike the role of housewife, the role of mother is creative and often a void is left when the youngest child enters school. Also, the personality factors of a high need for achievement, for living up to one's creative potential, and for gratification serve as intensive motivators.

Myrdal and Klein (1968) analyzed the external and internal motivations of married women to seek employment outside the house. External opportunities or motivations relate to supportive social conditions and include (1) the existence of a sufficiently wide range of suitable jobs within reasonably easy reach, (2) good transportation services, (3) provisions for child care, and (4) arrangements for some of the more time-consuming household duties to be taken over by commercial services. Internal motivation is created by increased leisure women enjoy as a result of small families and the availability of improved household conveniences.

The decision of a mother to go to work may seem to be relatively simple on the surface, but often is the result of many factors. Mothers often give several reasons for going outside the home to work. Generally, however, there is one major and several subsidiary reasons or motivations. The reason or reasons which prompt a mother to go outside the home to work often directly affect the family environment. If she goes to work unwillingly, as an economic necessity, her reaction and those of her children will be different than if she works to escape loneliness. In addition, mothers who are obligated to work may need to accept arrangements for both the care of their homes and their children which they would not consider adequate if the economic pressures were less. A mother's ability to cope with two jobs depends to a considerable extent on her reasons for working (Yudkin and Holme, 1963).

Money may also operate in less concrete ways as a reason for working. A woman's time has come to have monetary meaning because of the availability of jobs, because so many women are working, and because so many women have worked at some time in their lives. Therefore, even if her household activities are intrinisically satisfying, outside employment may be selected since these household activities may become closely related to leisure and she must acknowledge that she is doing them for pleasure. The mother who does not work may feel that she is actually spending money for the privilege of not working and may feel guilty about not working. This may seem a switch from the usual view, but as employment becomes increasingly common and increasingly possible, it may be more fruitful to ask, "why don't mothers work?" than "why do they work?" (Nye and Hoffman, 1963).

There are women, who for a variety of reasons, work almost as continuously as do men (Eyde, 1962). It seems reasonable to believe that these women who work outside the home have different needs than women who do not work outside the home. The values they place on work may be different in nature.

Epstein (1971) notes that women say they are motivated to work because they need the money, yet it has been shown that when professional women were asked if they would leave their work if economic pressures les-

sened, most said they would not. It is likely that American women who wish to work because of job satisfaction often feel they must offer another, more acceptable reason: economic necessity. Mothers of young children give money as their primary reason for working and it is undoubtedly a major motivation. Income satisfaction and perceived financial need are important and should be considered along with the actual size of income. Wives and mothers will go to work to maintain their levels of living or to achieve the level of those around them (Hoffman, 1973).

Sobal (1963) claims that commitment to work is highly related to the reasons for the married women's employment. Those working to fulfill a need for accomplishment are more committed to their work than those working merely to acquire material assets. Similarly, those women working because they wish to meet people or to occupy time would be more committed than those working for purely economic reasons. Sobal measured work commitment in terms of the length of time which a woman plans to work.

Since it is generally not considered necessary for married women to work in most societies, except during times of financial need, their work is usually considered a voluntary choice. The length and continuity of a married woman's employment have often been considered the most valid indicator of her work commitment. Interruptions in a married woman's employment usually occur with and are caused by the pressures of infants and young children in their families. Thus, a married woman's presence in the labor force when her children are very young usually connotes a high work commitment. However, in cases where financial need is the reason for mothers of infants or young children working, these mothers usually do not have a high degree of work commitment and they may stop working as soon as financially possible (Safilios-Rothschild, 1971).

Haller and Rosenmayer (1971) found that work-committed women give more non-financial reasons for working. An analysis of work commitment during different stages of the life cycle revealed that middle-class mothers show higher work commitment after having children; however, a successfully pursued career and long work experience are shown to increase their work commitment. Among blue collar mothers a low level of family income increased their expectations of being in the labor force and these women declared more financial reasons for working.

Eyde (1959) concluded that a study of the characteristics of working women would be incomplete without an analysis of their work values. She attempted to predict the work motivation of two groups of college women. Motivation to work was predicted from background and attitudinal items and from response to a work value scale. The sample was two Jackson College (Mass.) classes: (1) the 1958 class who were seniors at the time of the study, (2) the 1953 class who were alumnae of five years. Eyde was able to demonstrate that the overall work motivation of college seniors was not significantly different from that of alumnae of five years. However, the responses of the college seniors did show that their highest work motivation was related to the dominance recognition values, whereas the alumnae's responses stressed the values of mastery-achievement and interesting activity. Alumnae who were found to possess low work motivation ranked the values of independence and social relations as being the most important. Eyde's work was a significant attempt to provide basic research on the relationship between women's work motivation and certain work values.

Wolfe (1969) studied women's work values and how these values were related to the demographic variables of marital status, age, educational attainment, career status, current work pattern, socioeconomic class, and field of work. The values which women seek from work are linked to the specific demographic variables. All of the women in the New York Study (1,871) demonstrated a high need for their work to yield the mastery-achievement value. The second most significant value that women seek from their work is fulfillment of their social needs. The women worked because of loneliness, boredom, lack of stimulation, or to escape the monotony of childrearing. Therefore, women expressed their desire to make friends, to be around others, and to seek social outlets. The next two values in order after the mastery-achievement and social were: interesting-activity and independence. The interesting-activity value is closely tied to their expressed desire to find social outlets. The women wanted to seek opportunities to vary their experiences, to avoid boredom, and to experience different

events. Independence was only a moderate need. The women were not going to work to free themselves from felt restraints, but there was some need for them to demonstrate that they could be independent if circumstances should require. The women did not stress items related to avoiding dependence on others or being controlled by others. The two least important work values of the New York Sample of women were dominance-recognition and economic. These women were not seeking control or supervision over other workers. Contrary to popular belief, the Wolfe Study showed that economic rewards of work rated very low in the eyes of most women.

The Reasons for Working Scale was developed by Eyde (1959) and is based on the assumption that women, like men, work for a variety of financial and non-financial reasons. The following priori value factors and the authors who referred to them were used in the development of a scale to describe the needs which women satisfy through the work situation.:

1) Dominance: over people (Centers, Kornhauser, Murray, Shaffer).
2) Economic security: different reasons for working for money (Centers, Kornhauser, Shaffer, Williams).
3) Expression or self-actualization: self development (Centers, Maslow, Shaffer).
4) Independence (Centers, Kornhauser, Maslow, Murray, Shaffer, Williams).
5) Interesting activities: variety (Centers, Williams).
6) Mastery and achievement: things accomplished by learning and doing (Maslow, Murray, Shaffer, Willams).
7) Recognition: by others (Centers, Kornhauser, Maslow, Murray, Shaffer).
8) Social relations: interpersonal relationships, service to others (Centers, Kornhauser, Maslow, Murray, Shaffer, Williams) (Eyde, 1959: 73).

The Reasons for Working Scale is a ranked work value scale, factor analyzed to produce six work value factors. The six work values reflect psychological needs and are defined as the expressed need for:

1) Mastery achievement value
2) Independence value
3) Dominance-recognition value
4) Interesting activity-variety value
5) Economic value
6) Social value

The objective of a study which I would like to highlight was to determine the differences between working and nonworking mothers of infants with respect to their work values. The Reasons for Working Scale developed by Eyde and referred to earlier was used to determine the work values of mothers of infants.

One hundred eighty-one mothers of infants were selected to participate in the study which began with maternity ward surveys in two Columbus, Ohio hospitals and followed up with two home visits during the year. Ninety-nine mothers had worked outside the home for financial compensation or attended school during the first year of their infant's life. The remaining 82 mothers did not work outside the home for financial compensation.

At infant age one year, mothers were asked to rank 14 sets of six work value items on which the social desirability levels of the items were controlled in each set. A rank of one was given to the most desirable statement and a six was assigned to the least desirable.

The following results were secured for the null hypothesis which states:

There will be no significant differences between working and nonworking mothers of infants in their work values as measured by the six factors of the Reasons for Working Scale:

a) *Master-achievement value*
b) *Independence value*
c) *Dominance-recognition value*
d) *Interesting activity-variety value*
e) *Economic value*
f) *Social value*

Table 1 shows the differences in mean scores for the working and nonworking mothers on their work values as measured by the Reasons for Working Scale. The *t* value of 3.26 with 179 degrees of freedom for the sixth work value, social value, was significant at the .001 level. The null hypothesis was accepted for the work values of mastery-achievement, independence, dominance-recognition, interesting activity-variety, and economic value. The null hypothesis was rejected for the social work value ($p < .001$).

The ranks assigned to the work values were very similar for both the working and nonworking mothers of infants. Both groups

TABLE 1. DIFFERENCES IN WORK VALUES OF WORKING AND NONWORKING MOTHERS OF INFANTS (N = 181)

Work Values	Mean		t	df	2-Tail Probability
	Working	Nonworking			
Mastery-achievement value	39.01	38.72	0.20	179	.838
Independence value	51.28	54.28	−1.49	179	.137
Dominance-recognition value	57.55	58.85	−0.96	179	.337
Interesting activity-variety value	49.63	48.24	0.98	179	.326
Economic value	48.32	50.11	−0.73	179	.465
Social value	48.21	43.57	3.26	179	.001

Note: According to the scoring system used, high mean scores reflect low valuation of the particular work value.

TABLE 2. DIFFERENCES IN ROLE IMPORTANCE OF WORKING AND NONWORKING MOTHERS OF INFANTS (N = 181)

Roles	Mean		t	df	2-Tail Probability
	Working	Nonworking			
Full-time homemaker role	3.23	3.77	−3.39	179	.001
Mother role	4.48	4.45	0.30	179	.762
Job or career role	2.87	2.11	5.05	179	.001

ranked items representing mastery-achievement value as their first preference and social value as their second choice. Independence value and dominance-recognition value were the fifth and sixth choice, respectively for both groups.

There were significant differences between working and nonworking mothers of infants on the work value assigned to fulfilling social needs. This seems to suggest that more nonworking women assigned work the value of fulfilling social needs. The nonworking mothers saw work more as a way of escaping loneliness, boredom, lack of stimulation, or the monotony of child rearing than did working mothers.

Mothers were also asked to indicate the importance they assigned employment status and maternal role. The Maternal Employment Inventory was used to test the null hypothesis that *there will be no significant differences between working and nonworking mothers of infants in the importance they assign to the roles of:*

a) *Full-time homemaker*
b) *Mother*
c) *Job or career*

Maternal employment status and maternal role preference was determined using a Maternal Employment Inventory. The mothers were asked to indicate on a five-point scale the degree of importance they assigned to the roles of full-time homemaker, mother, and job or career. Differences in the importance assigned to the roles of full-time homemaker, mother, and job or career were tested using a *t*-test for independent samples. The differences between the mean scores of working and nonworking mothers was significant at the .001 level for the roles of full-time homemaker and job or career (Table 2). There was no significant difference between the mean scores on the importance assigned to the role of mother. Thus, the null hypothesis was accepted for the role of mother and rejected for the role of full-time homemaker and job or career.

We may interpret this to mean that the nonworking mothers viewed the homemaker role as more important and that it gave them a feeling of usefulness and importance. On the other hand, the working mothers assigned more importance to a job or career which was the basis for their feelings of usefulness and importance. This study further supported the literature in terms of work values perceptions and role perception. The reasons for mothers of infants working are complex and interrelated.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Budke, J. H. Determination of work values, maternal role importance, and child rearing attitudes of working and non-working mothers of infants. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. The Ohio State University, 1975.

Epstein, C. F. *Woman's place.* Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1971.

Eyde, L. D. Work motivation of women college graduates: Five-year follow-up. *Journal of Counseling Psychology,* 1968, **15,** 199-202.

Eyde, L. D. *Work value and background factors as predictors of women's desire to work.* Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University, Research Monograph Number 108, Bureau of Business Research, 1961.

_____. *Work value and background factors as predictors of women's desire to work.* Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. The Ohio State University, 1959.

Haller, M. & Rosenmayer, J. The pluridemsionality of work commitment. *Human Relations,* 1971, **24,** 501-518.

Hoffman, L. W. The decision to work. In F. I. Nye and L. W. Hoffman (Eds.). *The employed mother in America.* Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1963.

_____. *The effects of maternal employment on the child: A review of the research.* Ann Arbor, Michigan: Michigan University, Developmental Program, Report No. 28, May 1973. (ED 086 340)

Myrdal, A. & Klein, V. *Women's two roles.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1968.

Nye, F. I. & Hoffman, L. W. (Eds.). *The employed mother in America.* Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1963.

Rapoport, R. & Rapoport, R. N. The dual career family. *Human Relations,* 1969, **22,** 3-30.

Safilios-Rothschild, C. Toward the conceptualization and measurement of work commitment, *Human Relations,* 1971, **24,** 489-493.

Sobol, M. G. Commitment to work. In F. I. Nye and L. W. Hoffman (Eds.). *The employed mother in America.* Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1963.

Waldman, E. & Grover, K. Children of women in the labor force. *Monthly Labor Review,* 1971, **94,** 19-25.

Wolfe, H. B. *Women in the world of work.* Albany, New York: The University of the State of New York, The State Department of Education, Division of Research, September 1969.

Wortis, R. P. The acceptance of the concept of the maternal role by behavioral scientists: Its effects on women. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,* 1971, **41,** 733-746.

Yudkin, S. & Holme, A. *Working mothers and their children.* London: Sphere Books Limited, 1963.

Disadvantaged by Society: Plight of the Displaced Homemaker

ROSEMARY EMERY MULCAHY
Kent State University

Today, more and more homemakers are classified as "displaced" because they have been forced to deviate from their family roles in their middle years by death of one's spouse, divorce, disability, or any other event that can lead to a loss of family income and thus leave them without needed financial support. If these people have been full-time homemakers for their families, most will attempt to enter the job market with no recognized skills, no paid employment experience, and their ages as a major handicap.

Displaced homemakers face many obstacles which they must overcome on their road to independence. Some of their needs can be shared with others who have not experienced the same plight which they have encountered. However, many of their needs belong specifically to the segment of society for which they have been described.

Government-funded job training and service programs have not been designed to meet the particular needs of the middle-aged individual, especially those who are women. There are some resource centers and agencies, however, that are available to assist these homemakers in meeting some of their needs. Unfortunately, these services are as diverse as the displaced homemakers access to them. Entry regulations, program requirements, directives and objectives and financial income of both the program and homemaker, often times prohibited some displaced homemakers from receiving the help and assistance needed.

Mary, an intelligent, attractive woman for her 57 years of age, sat quietly in her apartment—depressed, frightened, uncertain and alone. She had a recurring dream, every night, since her husband divorced her after 29 years of marriage. She dreamt that she was hanging out of a window, desperately holding on by her fingernails. Inside, people would walk through the room and some would even stop by the window to talk to her—but no one would answer her cries of "HELP."

No, Mary is not alone. There are millions of individuals like her, both men and women belonging to every race, creed and color. Who are they? Our American society has come to identify these individuals as "displaced homemakers."

The term "displaced homemaker" was coined by Tish Sommers and Laurie Shields of the Older Women's League in Oakland, California. Together, they are credited with being the founders of the national Alliance for Displaced Homemakers. Upon consulting Webster's Dictionary, it was discovered that displaced persons are those who have been "forcibly exiled" through social upheavals and war. (U.S. Congress, Senate; 1977). Displaced homemakers are also victims of a quieter, subdued form of social upheaval in the structure of the American family.

Today, more and more homemakers are classified as "displaced" because they have been *forced* to deviate from their family roles in their middle years by death of one's spouse, informal separation or desertion, legal separation, annulment, divorce, disability, or any other event that could lead to a loss of family

income and thus leave them without needed financial support. If these individuals have been full-time homemakers for their families, most of them will attempt to enter the job market with no recognized skills, no paid employment experience, and age as a major handicap.

In 1975, the Alliance for Displaced Homemakers commissioned a study to determine the actual number of men and women nationally who would qualify as displaced homemakers. It was found that only a scattering of information existed which was lacking conciseness and was terribly inconsistent. (Sommers and Shields, 1978) The actual number of displaced homemakers in this country is not ascertainable with current governmental statistical indexes, since their contribution to the economy is not recognized. (Medaris, 1977)

The United States Department of Commerce Census Bureau appears to define work only in terms of paid employment and experience. (U.S. Dept. of Commerce, 1976). What isn't counted as paid labor, isn't counted at all. Therefore, if an individual isn't counted, the individual is considered to be non-existent. Using housework, as an example in the case of the displaced homemaker, we can readily see the absurdity of this definition. A homemaker, according to this definition does not work. However, if the spouse of this homemaker must replace the homemaker's services with a housekeeper, cook, or babysitter —these replacements become workers and the spouse has added to the Gross National Product of this country the many thousands of dollars the replacements are paid, besides making them accountable members of our society.

While it is true that women are joining the paid labor force in increasing numbers, 57.5% remain employed as full-time unpaid homemakers. (U.S. Congress, Senate; 1977). Motherhood, which is the central function of the homemaking job, usually terminates in the middle years, so that women in this occupation experience the same trauma as persons in other occupations whose jobs are phased out.

There are ten to twelve million widows in our country today, an increase of 41% since 1950. Ten percent of all women between the ages of 35 and 64 are widows. (U.S. Congress, Senate; 1977). Most women who are presently between fifty and sixty agreed to the social contract that the man was the wage-earner in the family and the woman assumed the role of homemaker. These women assumed retirement benefits, health insurance, and economic security flowed from their marriage. If these women worked outside of their homes, it was likely to be a supplemental income, irregular, and often part-time.

There are five million divorced women in America today, which is an increase of 166% since 1950. Twenty-one percent of women divorcing in 1977 had passed their 40th birthday and one in four had been married 15 years or more. (U.S. Congress, Senate; 1977)

The consumption tasks of the homemaker are essential for the well-being and continuing growth of the economy, but the housewife's contribution is systematically ignored. On the grounds of complexity of assigning monetary value to non-paid work, homemaking is kept out of the realm of statistics. (Sommers and Shields, Committee on Aging, 1978) Therefore, the Alliance for Displaced Homemakers can only estimate that there are at least three million of these homemakers in the United States today between the ages of 40 and 65. Potentially, 15 million more are women out of the labor force, who currently have minor children and will be without benefits when their children reach 18 years of age. Part of the reason for their invisibility is that homemaking is an isolated occupation, and women who fit the definition tend to think of themselves as victims of circumstance, rather than as a social problem. (Sommers and Shields, Committee on Aging, 1978)

Presently, 75% of women who are widowed, divorced or separated, without children under 18 years of age and with paid work experience, are living in poverty with a median income of $2,100 annually. (U.S. Congress, Senate; 1977)

These homemakers are neglected in terms of Federal income security programs. They are frequently ineligible for social security benefits because they are either too young (under 60 years of age) or because they have not been married to the family wage earner for the required number of years. These homemakers are ineligible for federal welfare assistance if their children are over 18 years of age or if the homemaker is not physically disabled. They are ineligible for unemploy-

ment insurance because they have been engaged for a substantial number of years in unpaid labor in the home. On the other hand, they are often subject to discrimination in seeking employment because of their age, unpaid work experience, and lack of skills. In some cases, those with education may not get positions because of lack of experience in the field for which they were educated or because of the length of time which elapsed between the actual acquisition of their degree and their actual attempts at utilizing it.

Since none of the existing public employment, assistance, and welfare programs were geared to meet the specific needs of the displaced homemaker, Representative Yvonne Burke of California introduced a Displaced Homemaker's Bill in the Spring of 1975. (Shields, 1978) The proposed legislation gave a name to the problem, defined it, and suggested remedies. It called for the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare to provide multipurpose service programs including job readiness, transition counseling, training, placement and help in recycling of homemaker skills into paying jobs.

New legislation was required in 1977 because subcommittee members in both the House and the Senate recognized displaced homemakers as a segment of this country's hard-to-employ, so the category belonged to the Department of Labor, under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), where it presently stands.

The first sign of help (or attempt at it), came in October 1978 when the 95th Congress passed Public Law 95-524 requiring CETA to include displaced homemakers under Titles II, III, and VI. (Sommers and Shields, Committee on Aging, 1978)

The help which was offered, failed to assist displaced homemakers specifically, since existent programs were simply expanded to include them. These programs then provided services for all as young as 22 years of age, unwed mothers and displaced homemakers.

Another area of help for displaced homemakers has come through state vocational education programs. In 1976 the Vocational Education Act was amended so that each state plan be required to include vocational programs to help meet the needs of the displaced homemaker. (Medaris, 1977) Whether or not each state has carried out this amendment still appears to be an issue at hand. If state vocational education departments have implemented these programs, the expenditure of monies and limiting regulations imposed on these homemakers, as well as their success depends upon each individual program.

To date, various states have decided not to wait for federal legislation and have established legislation on their own, realizing that the needs of these individuals are quite different and unique from other members of our society and they need assistance now. However, these programs need to be studied carefully and built upon in order to maximize their potential. Many programs and services are evaluated in regard to successfulness solely in terms of job placement. It was on these measures that the national Alliance for Displaced Homemakers was forced to close its doors in April, 1979. (Shields, 1979).

The plight of the displaced homemaker exists only because we have made it exist. In our social systems, we continuously stress the importance of the role of the homemaker, one of creating and maintaining a functional and secure family structure and environment. However, to place a value on the skills and the contributions that a homemaker possesses when it comes to the job market is a totally different and undervalued matter.

"Disgusted," "discouraged," "unwanted," "frustrated," and "restless" are some of the words that are used to describe these homemakers and justifiably so since many are unable to find jobs and are ineligible for social security and/or welfare assistance.

However, there are other words that are used to describe these homemakers that are usually overlooked, words like: "capable," "ambitious," "adjusted," "useful," and "dedicated."

Most displaced homemakers have demonstrated these positive characteristics, and were noted for them, as they worked at their jobs of being homemakers—fulfilling all of their job requirements and even taking on extra duties. It is time that society gives them a chance to demonstrate those characteristics once again—as accountable and productive members of society in the home and in the job market.

REFERENCES

Medaris, H. Displaced Homemakers Information Packet. Planning Office, Bureau of Occupational and Adult Education, 1977.

Shields, L. Alliance for displaced homemakers—Memos. March 24, 1978.

Sommers, R., & Shields L. Displaced homemakers: Forced retirement leaves many penniless. *Civil Rights Digest*, Winter, 1978.

Sommers, T., & Shields, L. Problems of the displaced homemaker: A compendium of papers submitted to the Select Committee on Aging. U.S. Congress, 95th Congress, 2nd Session. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978.

U.S. Congress, Senate. Select Committee on Human Resources, Subcommittee on employment, poverty and migratory labor, Displaced Homemaker Legislation Hearing, 95th Congress, First Session, September 12 and 13, 1977. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978.

U.S. Department of Congress, Bureau of the Census. Statistical Abstracts of the United States, March, 1976.

Family Management: The Role of Attitudes and Control Orientation

OLGA B. HOUGH
Ohio Wesleyan University

The importance of attitude and control orientation in directing human behavior has been amply researched and documented. The unique relationship of these two attributes to each other and the importance attributed to them in family decision-making and management let to the use of attitude and control orientation measures as the basis for selecting the subsample used in analyses in this study.[1]

One-way analyses were performed to test the differences among the attitude-control subgroups with regard to behavior, foresight, motivational and demographic factors of residential energy users. The Scheffe test was used to test the differences among the means where significant (P^c .05) F ratios were obtained. In six cases significant F scores were obtained, one each for behavioral and motivational factors, two for foresight and two for demographic characteristics.

Fairly high proportions of the respondents in all subgroups reported that increasing costs of electric service were affecting their energy use behaviors, although considerable variability in importance among the behavior changes was noted. In response to foresight questions, most participants considered that future life style would be relatively unchanged and saw only minor accommodations to rising electrical costs. Relatively few (15%) perceived the increased costs as producing strain on the family system. Approximately 50% of the participants indicated cost and power interruptions would be most effective in getting them to change their patterns of electrical use.

Findings of this research provide little empirical support for considering attitude and locus of control as directive elements in family decision-making and management. Further research would be needed to resolve the apparent contradiction posed by this research.

The importance of attitude and control orientation in directing human behavior has been extensively researched and documented (Robinson and Shaver, 1973). We know that attitudes toward money appear more important than the amount of money in determining marital satisfaction. Attitudes affect not only the number of children desired but also influences fertility planning. And attitudes as well as behaviors must be considered when assessing the impact of work on family life.

[1]Project Hatch 533, "Management of Household Activities in Relation to Peak Demand Periods," Department of Home Economics, The Ohio Agricultural Research and Development Center.

Gross, Crandall & Knoll (1973) identified the attitudes of optimism and willingness to accept change as important aspects of the human resource input into the family management system. With regard to control orientation, Paolucci (1977) proposed that internal-external orientation provides a "critical stance" toward family decision-making, and I suspect that most family management people would agree with her. Yet, the specific role that attitudes and control orientation play in family decision-making and management has not been widely investigated.

Attitudinal attributes, specific situational attitudes and control orientation are viewed

by many researchers as intervening variables —factors which are part of the explanatory chain between the variable originally believed to explain a phenomenon and the phenomenon being explained (Rodgers, 1973). We recognize they are there, influencing our behavior, but the magnitude, and thus, sometimes even the direction of the influence remains largely unknown and untested. In the research I am going to share with you today, attitudes and control orientations were used as independent variables in order to test directly their relationship to a family management system.

I will be reporting to you from my doctoral research done at The Ohio State University dealing with the relationship of attitude and control orientation to aspects of family energy management (Hough, 1979).

Factors thought to be important to understanding families' management of energy and analyzed in this research were attitudes toward the energy situation, locus of control orientation, changed energy use behaviors, projected life style changes and home buying considerations in light of the present energy situation, factors that would motivate consumers to modify electrical energy use, and demographic characteristics of income, age, education, household size, dwelling type, housing tenure, place of residence and employment.

Data used in the study were derived from an on-going residential energy research project, "Management of Household Activities in Relation to Peak Demand Periods for Energy," Department of Home Economics, The Ohio Agricultural Research and Development Center. Data collection was conducted in spring of 1976 in 13 counties in Central Ohio. Information was obtained from 278 respondents.

The study was designed to answer three different research questions. Twelve hypotheses were tested; however, I have selected only two to share with you today that relate directly to the futuristic theme of this conference. These hypotheses have to do with the foresight aspects of the research. Foresight is generally considered to be a relevant component of family decision-making and is most significant in the planning phase of management. The hypotheses related to foresight were:

Ho 2: There is no difference among the attitude-control subgroups in projected life style changes in the face of continued increases in the price of electricity.

Ho 3: There is no difference among the attitude-control subgroups in home buying considerations, in light of the present energy situation.

It may be hypothesized that both attitudes and control orientation exert a dynamic and directive influence on behavior but would impact differentially on the family management process. This is because of the generalized and specific nature of their influence. An attitude is a specific response mode—a predisposition to think, feel, perceive and behave toward an object. We say that one has an attitude toward something concrete "out there"; its impact is highly specific and selective. In this research the energy crisis was that specific. Control orientation, on the other hand, is a more generalized response mode. It is a pervasive way of looking at the world and of responding to it. The influencing factor in this case is not the world "out there" but the generalized way one perceives and then responds to it.

I hope I have justified for you—if not excited your curiosity—my rationale for wanting to know more about these two factors, separately and together, as they relate to family management. As for foresight—I wondered if as a result of the energy situation people saw in the future a grim picture of shortages, blackouts, unemployment and physical discomforts, or would it be more like Cousin's (1978) prophecy, a less centralized, more cooperative and more creative way of life than families in the U.S. presently know.

The unique relationship of attitude and control orientation to each other and to the family management process was the reason for using them as the basis for selecting the subsample population. Four groups were established that constituted subjects who scored at the extremes (upper and lower 20%) of the distribution of scores on the attitude and control orientation scales. The four groups obtained were characterized as follows:

strong, internal control orientation and strongly positive attitudes (N = 37)

strong, internal control orientation and strongly negative attitudes (N = 2)

strong, external control orientation and strongly positive attitudes (N = 12)

strong, external control orientation and strongly negative attitudes (N = 23)

Only two persons having a strong, internal locus of control and strong, negative attitudes were found in the sample. This group was, therefore, elminated and further analysis was based on the remaining three groups.

A forty-item attitude scale was developed and used to elicit attitudes to a variety of factors thought to be energy related. A Kuder-Richardson (1937) formula 3 coefficient of .83 for the scale, considered a reasonable inter-item reliability for a test of that length was obtained. Factorial validity and face validity were also established for the scale prior to data collection.

The control-orientation instrument used was called the Energy Internal-External (I-E) Control Scale, developed by Hilton (1977) and was a modification of Rotter's Internal-External Control Scale (1966). The resulting instrument maintained the forced choice fixed alternative format of Rotter's instrument in which one alternative represents an internal control orientation, the other an external control orientation. Concurrent validity and reliability for the Energy I-E Scale were established by Hilton prior to use in the study.

The structure of the foresight questions used in this study was modeled after the questioning technique used by Guilford (1955) in his factor-analysic study of planning. Respondents were asked two openended foresight questions:

Foresight One: The rate of increase in the use of electricity in the United States has been greater than the rate of increase for other types of energy. It is likely that the price of electricity will continue to rise as the use of electricity increases. What changes, if any, do you foresee in the way families live if the price of electricity continues to increase?

Foresight Two: The Jones family has decided to purchase a new home. They have already decided how large a home they would like and how much they can afford to pay for it. They don't have a strong preference for a brand new house or an existing dwelling. The *are* concerned about the energy situation and how it might affect them in the future. What four questions should they consider before deciding what home to buy?

A category system was developed from the 1417 separate responses obtained in order to facilitate analysis of data. Validity was established by a panel of experts and a Scott coefficient was then used to estimate the agreement of the judges with the researcher. A mean level of agreement on the Foresight One: Life Style Changes question was .85, and on Foresight Two: Home Buying Considerations question was .76. The following categories indicate the general nature of content of the foresight responses to the life style change question:

1. return to simpler ways of doing things
2. stress on family system
3. appliances, equipment lighting—reduce/eliminate
4. residence—move, structural change, insulation
5. heating/cooling—space and water
6. clothing—warmer, more
7. recreation/entertainment—changes, reduce, eliminate
8. don't foresee any changes
9. other

The same clustering process was followed in reducing the categories for the 37 different home buying consideration (Foresight Two) responses to the following five categories indicating the general nature of content of the foresight response:

1. heating/cooling—space and water
2. construction of dwelling—insulation
3. doors and windows—storm, number, fit
4. cost of fuel/electricity
5. other

In addition to the foresight measures, scales measuring behavioral and motivational change factors were also used in the study.

One-way analyses of variance were performed to test the difference among the subgroups with regard to behavior, foresight, motivation and selected demographic factors. The Scheffé test was used to test the differences among the means where significant ($p < .05$) F ratios were obtained. In only six cases were significant F scores found and these were for specific items within the scales and not for the entire construct used to define the dependent variable. Two of the significant F scores were for items on the foresight measure.

We defined foresight as an enabling factor which increases an individual's level of awareness of conditions relevant to current and future situations. There is evidence in studies by social scientists that family expectations concerning the future figure predominantly in their decision making. Yet, when asked what life style changes they foresaw as a result of continued increases in the cost of electricity, respondents in the three subgroups did not give answers that differed significantly. Most participants considered that future life style would be relatively unchanged and saw only minor accommodations to rising electrical costs—houses a bit cooler, reduction in use of appliances and equipment, a need to wear warmer clothing. Relatively few (15%) perceived the increased costs as producing strain on the family system and those who did, generally indicated that the strain would be particularly hard on the elderly and those with fixed incomes. Seven percent of the respondents foresaw no changes at all in life style as a result of rising costs.

The null hypothesis could not be rejected. There were no differences among subgroups in the total number of responses regarding projected life style changes in the face of continued increases in the price of electricity ($F = .02$, $p = .98$). There were differences among subgroups, ($F = 3.14$, $p = .05$) for responses classified under the category, residence changes. The preponderant response dealt with making the residence more weatherproof by the addition of insulation and weather-stripping. A few respondents projected a move of people to warmer climates. Significantly more subjects with an external locus of control and positive attitude toward the energy situation gave residential change responses, than did subjects who had internal control orientation and held positive attitudes toward the energy situation.

In response to the questions dealing with home buying considerations, 99% of the participants gave at least one energy-conservation oriented response. Questions related to the cost of fuels and electricity were suggested by 42% of the respondents. Over 80% of the participants asked questions concerning the construction of the house and 72% asked specific questions concerning the heating and cooling systems.

But once again the null hypothesis could not be rejected; there were no differences among attitude and control subgroups in the total number and separate categories of responses participants gave regarding what they should consider before deciding what home to buy ($F = .35$, $p = .70$). There was a difference among subgroups, $F = 3.66$, $p = .04$, for responses classified under the category, construction and insulation of dwelling. Subjects with a positive attitude and external control orientation less often suggested questions concerning the construction and insulation of the house than subjects in the other subgroups. Internal-positive respondents most frequently asked dwelling construction and insulation questions in response to the foresight home buying consideration measure.

It is interesting to conjecture why respondents with a positive attitude and external control orientation would foresee insulated and weather-proofed homes as being typical in the future and yet, less often than other respondents ask questions concerning the structural and insulation characteristics of a house if they were buying a new home.

The generalized situation specific classification provided by the attitude and locus of control measures used in this study did not prove to be sufficient to explain differences in behavior, foresight, motivation and demographic factors related to family's energy management. The no difference findings may be related to the time of data collection (Spring, 1976) and the general perception of people that there was still a plentiful and cheap energy supply; therefore, consumers may not yet have reached the point of consciously managing their use of energy or of perceiving future need to do so. A second explanation may be as Rudd (1978) has suggested, that it is behaviors which foster attitudes and not vice-versa. A third possible explanation may be that use of energy is more a reflection of life style than a determiner of it. If this is the case, until such time as a perceived scarcity of energy would cause it to take on a demand or goal nature, the management system would not be used by families to plan for, implement and evaluate energy use, or to seriously consider its impact on future life styles.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cousins, N. Growing your own fuel. *Saturday Review*, 1978, 5, 23-28.

Guilford, J. P., Berger, R. M., & Christensen, R. P. A factor-analytic study of planning. Reports from the Psychological Laboratory, No. 12. Los Angeles: University of Southern California, May, 1955.

Hilton, B. A. Development of instruments to measure individual characteristics related to residential energy management behavior. Doctoral dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1977.

Hough, O. B. The relationship of attitude and control orientation to behavior, motivation and foresight in residential energy management. Doctoral dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1979.

Paolucci, B., Hall, O. A., & Axinn, N. *Family Decision Making: An Ecosystem Approach.* New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1977.

Robinson, J. P. & Shaver, R. *Measures of Social Psychological Attitudes.* Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, 1973.

Rodgers, R. *Family Interaction and Transaction.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973.

Rotter, J. B. Generalized expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcement. *Psychological Monographs,* 1966, **80** (1, Whole No. 609), 1-28.

Rudd, N. M. Energy use: The need for research. *Journal of Home Economics,* 1978, **70,** 5, 24-26.

SESSION IV:

ROLES, PERCEPTIONS AND JUDICIAL INVOLVEMENT

MODERATOR: Bron Ingoldsby,
Kent State University

Reference Group Interaction and Sex Role Orientation

AIDA K. TOMEH
Bowling Green State University
CATHERINE VASKO
Bowling Green State University

This paper examines the relationship between reference group interaction, based on parents and friends, and sex-role orientation for each sex, taking into consideration mother's occupation. The data are based on a random sample of college students. The findings show that parental interaction is more important than friendship associations in influencing sex-role orientation, especially among males. The modeling transmission effect of mother's occupation on her daughter's sex-role socialization via interaction is consistently traditional, whereas her impact on the son's sex-role perceptions is traditional only within the home environment and when mothers are of a high occupational level. The findings are interpreted in the context of reference group and role model theories.

A recent investigation analyzed the role reference groups play in the formation of familial sex role attitudes (Tomeh and Negrey, 1980). It was found that parents are more important than friends in influencing parental and marital sex role attitudes particularly among males. This result stimulated the further study of reference group interaction in shaping sex role attitudes beyond the family context, in an effort to understand the impact of reference group interaction on various aspects of males' and females' sex role orientation.

In this study, a reference group theoretical framework is used to explain sex role orientation where attitudes are studied in relation to role models (Kelley, 1968; Shibutani, 1968). Implicit in this learning process is the notion of interaction. Thus, the more interaction one has with others, the more will individuals engage in communication about their roles and become recipients of more interactive responses which may reinforce or challenge their attitudes. On the other hand, those who have low interaction levels with significant others, are less likely to exchange their views. Thus, when communication is infrequent, support for one's attitudes will be low.

Research on socialization of sex role attitudes indirectly related to the present investigation document the importance of parents as role models for children (Helson, 1972; Lynn, 1962; Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974; Tangri, 1972; Yorburg, 1974). Benson (1968:

211-215) notes that the extra-familial world including peers is more important for boys than girls. Kammeyer's study (1964) on college women shows a relationship between consistency in attitudes towards feminine role behavior and frequency of interaction with parents and friends. Both Reiss (1967:139) and Teevan 1972:283-291) suggest that the reference group is an important determinant of sexual attitudes. Inasmuch as these studies differ in focus and show variation in the source of reference group influence, it is clear that increased interaction with others contributes to the development of attitudes.

In this study, parental and friendship interaction are treated as predictors of sex role orientation based on personality disposition, social structural equality and self-fulfillment —attitudes exclusive to personal and institutional equality. It is expected, that parents as role model influences represent a more traditional culture which supports the status quo while friendship interaction is likely to be associated with a nontraditional sex role orientation. Other factors believed to affect the proposed relationship between reference group interaction and sex role orientation are the socioeconomic characteristics of the mother, a primary agent of socialization and a role model for her children.

METHODOLOGY

The data were collected by a questionnaire from college students of a middle sized university in a mid-western city. A random sample of 30 scheduled classes was selected (excluding laboratory or recitation sessions, field, intern or practicum enrollment, independent readings, performing arts sessions, thesis or dissertation), of which 27 participated and permitted the questionnaire to be administered to those present during the class period. The data was collected in Spring, 1976: 659 questionnaires were obtained. Questions were close ended with the exception of occupation. The sample shows diversity in religious affiliation, size of hometown, socioeconomic status of parents, family composition, major field of interest and college status. The majority of the students are between 18 and 21 years of age (79 percent) with a sex distribution of 40 percent males and 60 percent females. Differences in demographic characteristics between the sexes, however, are not significant.

Definitions and Measurement of Variables

Parental interaction refers to (a) frequency of going home, (b) duration of stay at home, (c) frequency of writing to parents, and (d) frequency of calling home.

Friendship interaction is measured in terms of (a) number of best friends, (b) frequency of contact with friends, and (c) duration of time spent with friends at any one occasion.

Sex role orientation is measured in terms of three attitudinal dimensions which emerged on the basis of factor analysis (Tomeh and Street, 1979, 1980).

First, personality disposition refers to conceptions about the equal potential of women's and men's personality attributes and traits as well as their interests and preferences (e.g., men can be as sympathetic as women).

Second, social structural equality indicates egalitarian attitudes within the home as well as in the the work place where wives' and husbands' interests are of equal importance domestically and occupationally (e.g., a wife's career is of equal importance to her husband's).

Third, self-fulfillment represents an emphasis on the employment of married women along with the individualistic needs, motivations and rights of women (e.g., women hold jobs after they are married to enjoy working in their field of specialization).

Analytic technique: Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA), the statistical technique utilized in this study, relates a number of nominal or higher level predictor variables to a continuous dependent variable within an additive model (Andrews, et al., 1967). Eta (or correlation ratio) represents the gross effect of the predictor on the dependent variables. Beta (which is like the regression weight) represents the net effect of that predictor on the dependent variable when the other predictors in that analysis are controlled. Multiple R^2 is the proportion explained by all the independent variables.

FINDINGS

In this part of the study only mother's occupation is analyzed as shown in Table 1 on the relative contribution to variation in sex role orientation by reference group interaction for each sex. An examination of the data distribution shows that parental interaction

explains more of the variance in sex role orientation than friendship associations with a few exceptions. In the case of daughters whose mothers are unskilled, peer interaction explains between 14 to 18 percent of the variance in self-fulfillment and personality disposition, as compared to 6 percent explained variance by parents. Here number of best friends (eta = .22, and .35 respectively) and time spent with friends (eta = .24) significantly contribute to the formation of these attitudes even when other aspects of peer interaction are controlled based on the increased beta values. It seems that friends are more effective in influencing sex role attitudes related to a self-concept than those which are of a more general nature like social structural equality. In this context, it is not surprising to find daughters of unskilled mothers eager to exchange with friends sex role attitudes central to themselves and gain the support of a reference group to enhance their self-image.

TABLE 1. RELATIVE CONTRIBUTION TO VARIATION IN SEX ROLE ORIENTATION SCORES BY REFERENCE GROUP INTERACTION BEFORE AND AFTER COVARIANCE ADJUSTMENT* FOR EACH SEX AND OCCUPATION OF MOTHER

	Professional and Semiprofessional				Skilled and Semiskilled				Unskilled			
	Females		Males		Females		Males		Females		Males	
Predictors	Eta	Beta	Eta	Beta	Eta	Beta	Eta	Beta	Eta	Beta	Eta	Beta
Personality Disposition:												
Parental Interaction	(N = 89)		(N = 38)		(N = 100)		(N = 57)		(N = 55)		(N = 24)	
Frequency of home visits	.14	.12	.48**	.51	.06	.05	.31	.30	.10	.14	.11	.14
Duration of home visit	.00	.01	.14	.17	.03	.04	.11	.09	.17	.19	.10	.08
Frequency of writing home	.13	.14	.33	.19	.24	.27	.26	.24	.08	.11	.09	.08
Frequency of calling home	.14	.16	.12	.23	.11	.15	.37**	.35	.04	.13	.23	.24
multiple R^2	.06		.34		.08		.28**		.05		.08	
Friendship Interaction	(N = 99)		(N = 49)		(N = 126)		(N = 61)		(N = 62)		(N = 33)	
Number of best friends	.05	.09	.08	.07	.07	.05	.19	.19	.35**	.40	.29	.23
Frequency of contacts	.22**	.22	.07	.07	.12	.13	.02	.01	.09	.14	.18	.17
Time spent with friends	.14	.10	.18	.18	.11	.12	.11	.11	.16	.19	.12	.15
multiple R^2	.07		.04		.03		.05		.18**		.12	
Social-Structural Equality:												
Parental Interaction	(N = 88)		(N = 38)		(N = 99)		(N = 57)		(N = 53)		(N = 24)	
Frequency of home visits	.20	.20	.14	.12	.14	.24	.06	.07	.21	.26	.20	.18
Duration of home visit	.02	.02	.12	.08	.12	.12	.08	.08	.01	.01	.02	.01
Frequency of writing home	.26	.30	.27	.27	.17	.24	.28	.28	.22	.27	.40	.40
Frequency of calling home	.09	.14	.19	.25	.01	.01	.29	.29	.04	.12	.32	.28
multiple R^2	.13		.14		.09		.17		.11		.28	
Friendship Interaction	(N = 98)		(N = 49)		(N = 125)		(N = 61)		(N = 60)		(N = 33)	
Number of best friends	.07	.06	.06	.04	.06	.08	.01	.02	.14	.17	.09	.16
Frequency of contacts	.06	.03	.02	.02	.05	.05	.10	.10	.03	.06	.06	.17
Time spent with friends	.15	.14	.22	.22	.13	.14	.16	.16	.06	.10	.05	.16
multiple R^2	.03		.05		.03		.04		.03		.03	
Self-Fulfillment:												
Parental Interaction	(N = 88)		(N = 36)		(N = 98)		(N = 56)		(N = 53)		(N = 25)	
Frequency of home visits	.21	.24	.31	.32	.08	.16	.09	.05	.17	.18	.15	.23
Duration of home visit	.18	.20	.03	.05	.00	.01	.12	.11	.04	.03	.12	.33
Frequency of writing home	.06	.13	.39	.44	.19	.23	.49**	.50	.14	.15	.39	.48
Frequency of calling home	.10	.13	.21	.32	.13	.12	.30	.30	.09	.04	.19	.18
multiple R^2	.10		.31		.07		.34**		.06		.29	
Friendship Interaction	(N = 97)		(N = 47)		(N = 124)		(N = 59)		(N = 60)		(N = 34)	
Number of best friends	.15	.12	.02	.01	.22**	.21	.04	.03	.22**	.31	.15	.10
Frequency of contacts	.18	.18	.18	.18	.01	.03	.10	.08	.02	.01	.05	.11
Time spent with friends	.07	.11	.02	.03	.17	.15	.17	.16	.24**	.32	.24	.27
multiple R^2	.06		.03		.07		.04		.14		.09	

*Covariance adjustment refers to controlling for all the other independent variables listed.
**Significance of F probability < .05 level.

Apparently, mothers with low socioeconomic status (including mother's education) are unable to provide a supportive system to their daughters as they interact together. And to a certain extent, skilled/semiskilled mothers are unable to provide their daughters with modeled role behavior in terms of self-fulfillment where it is observed that number of best friends (eta = .22) significantly contributes to women's rights and needs.

The above pattern also characterizes daughters of professional/semi-professional mothers where frequency of contact with friends (eta = .22) significantly contributes to personality disposition. It is important to note, however, that in the case of high and middle occupational groups, the overall impact of parental and friendship associations is equivalent; this suggests that the modeling role transmission effect of the mother with a high or middle occupational level via family interaction is not completely irrelevant of her daughter's sex role perceptions relative to personality disposition and self-fulfillment.

No significant relationships are observed for men's peer associations and sex role orientation. At best, the explained variation in personality disposition increases to 12 percent as mother's occupational status declines. The same trend is true of self-fulfillment. Like women's, men's attitudes towards social structural equality are not affected by friendship associations. Mother's occupational status, therefore has the same impact on her daughter's and son's peer interaction relative to sex role orientation with a more felt effect on girls.

When parental interaction is examined, the data show that at every occupational level, such contacts explain more of the variance in the sex role orientation of men (a maximum of 34, 28 and 29 percent) than women (8, 13 and 10 percent explained variance). Significant relationships appear only for the male group in the upper and middle occupational categories. The curious observation, however, is that as sons whose mothers are of a high occupational level go home more frequently, they become slightly more traditional, while increased contacts with parents based on writing and calling home foster a nontraditional attitude; for daughters the pattern of influence is associated with greater traditionalism as daughters of the same occupational group increase their contacts with parents in any form. One may speculate, that by virtue of being professional/semiprofessional, the mother may have developed multiple role skills which enable her to coordinate her various roles effectively, whereby feminine personality role behavior may be performed at home as skillfully as her instrumental attributes outside the home. Thus, role compartmentalization may be of some consequence to her children's selected sex role views.

When the mother is skilled/semiskilled, the pattern of influence discussed above applies to daughters, whereas son-parent interaction is consistently and significantly associated with modern views on the issues of personality disposition and self-fulfillment (R^2 = .28 and 34 respectively). As mothers and sons interact via writing and calling, the transmission of a nontraditional view continues to predominate when sons go home often. These findings are consistent with mother's education.

The effect of parental interaction on the sex role orientation of daughters and sons whose mothers are unskilled is inconsistent. This inconsistency is likely to increase the vulnerability of children to be under the influence of other socializing agencies as observed in the case of daughters where friends tend to be more important than parents.

In all, the results show the interactive effect of mother's involvement in occupational roles as an important factor in the study of reference group interaction and specific dimensions of sex role equality considered central to the self-concept.

CONCLUSION

For the most part, parental interaction is more important than peer associations in influencing sex role orientation. This finding suggests that there is a genuine desire among young adults for dependence on parents where one finds security and the role positions which one can aspire to as an adult. In fact, even when friends become important reference figures relative to selected sex role views, the influence of the family persists within certain limits.

More important, however, is that parental interaction is more predictive of men's than women's sex role orientation. This result may be explained in the context of the recent social conditions in society (e.g., the women's

movement, the ERA, affirmative action, etc.), which have affected the development of a new set of sex role norms touching the lives of women in particular. The young women's exposure to an environment which enhances her position in society may lead her to be influenced by more liberal agents than the family such as feminist education, college education itself or a specific set of sex role issues (Tomeh, 1978). The friendship group gains some importance in this respect particularly where role model influence at home is not available such as in the case of the lower socioeconomic strata.

Nonetheless, the saliency of sex role equality supported by social forces in society has not penetrated the family environment sufficiently enough to alter the traditional modeling transmission effect of the mother on her daughter's sex role orientation via family interaction even when she is an achiever. The impact of the mother on her son's sex role orientation is not the same as that of the daughter's. It is clear that the maternal attributes of the mother provide a different model of behavior for her children through interaction.

From the standpoint of reference group theory, considering the three attitudinal dimensions, sex role socialization begins at home, and to a limited extent, children learn sex role norms from their friends. From a role model perspective, the data indicate that maternal socioeconomic characteristics through the interaction process are associated with more traditional sex role concepts for daughters. This in turn should imply a self-concept for the daughter along an expressive dimension. Sons are affected traditionally by the maternal role model only when they are at home engaged in interaction and the mothers are of a higher socioeconomic level. Thus, an instrumental self-concept for the son is conditional.

From a practical viewpoint, to promote acceptance of egalitarian sex role views, mothers must change their lifestyle at home in order to overcome the traditional overtones of the expressive role. Resisting an ideology based on the equality of the sexes, may increase peer influence or the importance of other role models. The future outlook for the family, however, may well be an acceptance of the new change in the status of the sexes to enhance harmonious relationships between parents and children.

REFERENCES

Andrews, F., Morgan, J., & Sonquist, J. S. *Multiple classification analysis: A report on a computer program for multiple regression using categorical predictors.* Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1967.

Benson, L. *Fatherhood: A sociological perspective.* New York: Random House, 1968.

Helson, R. The changing image of the career woman. *Journal of Social Issues,* 1972, **28** (2), 33-46.

Kammeyer, K. The feminine role: An analysis of attitude consistency. *Journal of Marriage and the Family,* August, 1964, **36,** 295-305.

Kelley, H. H. Two functions of reference groups. In H. Hyman & E. Singer (Eds.), *Readings in reference group theory and Research.* New York: The Free Press, 1968.

Lynn, D. Sex role and parental identification. *Child Development,* 1962, **33,** 555-564.

Maccoby, E. E. & Jacklin, C. N. *The psychology of sex differences.* Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1974.

Reiss, I. *The context of premarital sexual permissiveness.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967.

Shibutani, T. Reference groups as perspectives. In H. Hyman & E. Singer (Eds.), *Readings in reference group theory and research.* New York: The Free Press, 1968.

Tangri, S. Determinants of occupational role innovation among college women. *Journal of Social Issues,* 1972, **28** (2), 177-199.

Tomeh, A. K. Sex role orientation: An analysis of structural and attitudinal predictors. *Journal of Marriage and the Family,* 1978, **2,** 341-354.

Tomeh, A. K. & Negrey, C. Parents, friends and familial sex role attitudes. Unpublished manuscript, Bowling Green State University, 1980.

Tomeh, A. K. & Street, L. A methodological analysis of sex role orientation. *International Behavioral Scientist,* 1979, **11,** 43-62.

_____. Sex role orientation: A factorial analysis. *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations,* 1980, **8** (in press).

Teevan, J. L., Jr. Reference groups and pre-marital sexual behavior. *Journal of Marriage and the Family,* 1972, **34,** 283-291.

Yorburg, B. *Sexual identity: Sex roles and social change.* New York: Wiley, 1974.

Perceptions of Selected School Age Mothers, Their Parents and School Personnel Regarding School Activities and Educational Practices

GAIL HASSELBACH HENDERSON
Ohio Department of Education

This paper briefly reviews the current status of school-age mothers with respect to continuation of their education; describes an investigation of perceptions held by selected school-age mothers, their parents, and school personnel regarding the educational activities and practices related to school-age mothers; and draws implications of these perceptions for the understanding of school activities and practices related to school-age mothers.

Results of the investigation highlight differences in perceptions of consequences of school-age motherhood held by the school-age mothers, the parents of school-age mothers, and school personnel. Findings suggest that school-age mother peers may supply encouragement for school-age mothers to remain in school during pregnancy and after delivery. Findings indicate that school-age mothers' concerns and needs are focused upon the post-delivery period rather than the pregnancy stage, and that school-age mothers did not perceive educational curtailment as a consequence of their motherhood.

Some findings in the study were contrary to current literature. It is recommended that literature regarding the treatment of school-age mothers and pregnant girls by school personnel be closely scrutinized.

Prior to July 1976 public school systems were able to use various tactics in dealing with school-age pregnant girls and young mothers. The most common management practices were that of forbidding the pregnant girl to remain in school once her pregnancy was known and, if allowing her return after the birth of her child, limiting her to a less-than full privileged school career. Such practices were forbidden in July, 1976 when Congress enacted Title IX (Educational Amendments of 1972, 86 Stat. 373; 20 U.S.C. 1681, 1632) which affected all school systems receiving federal monies. Section 86.40 of this legislation determined that pregnant girls and young mothers could not be expelled from school on the basis of pregnancy or a pregnancy-related condition, required schools that provided separate programs for pregnant girls and young mothers to have "comparable" programs to those of regular students, and required that such special programs be attended on a voluntary basis.

These federal requirements have enabled an increasing number of school-age mothers and pregnant girls to remain in school and complete their education. A pregnant girl has the right to remain in regular classes during pregnancy and return to regular classes after her delivery with some schools providing the choice of regular classes or special predelivery and postdelivery school programs.

Current educational opportunities for pregnant girls and young mothers within public schools appear acceptable, but the concerns of many with respect to the completion of education of school-age mothers have not been satisfied. Though school-age mothers (SAMS) now have the right to make decisions with respect to their education, little is know about the factors affecting these decisions or about how educational options are interpreted to SAMS. Limited information is available regarding actual school procedures and practices used in relation to school-age pregnant girls and young mothers.

Considering these limitations in knowledge, the central intent of this study was to investigate the perceptions held by selected persons regarding the school's activities and practices related to school-age mothers and to draw implications of these perceptions for increased understanding of school activities and practices related to SAMS. The purpose was to aid in future attempts to clarify the nature of the relationship of school-age pregnancy and motherhood and school activities and practices.

SAMPLE

The sample consisted of 30 school-age mothers (SAMS), the parents of these school-age mothers (PSAMS), and 14 school representatives (REPS) indicated by the school-age mothers to be significant in their relationship with the school. The 30 SAMS included in this study were mothers 18 and under whose pregnancies had occurred while they were enrolled in public school and whose children were 24 months or younger and who were identifiable by some type of situation relating to their pregnancy and motherhood. School-age mothers were from one of three public school systems in the District of Columbia, Northern Virginia and Southern Maryland metropolitan area. The 72 interviews (with 30 SAMS, 28 PSAMS and 14 REPS) took place from September 26, 1977 to March 30, 1978.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The following is a discussion of results and their implications for school activities and practices related to school-age mothers.

Findings in this research were contrary to current literature which indicate that school personnel may not express to SAMS all educational options available (McMurray, 1975) and, indeed, may counsel SAMS to drop out of school during pregnancy (Howard, 1978). This study brought forth no indication of such procedures. All SAMS were aware of educational options, and school personnel encouraged students to remain. Further, total agreement was found among SAMS, PSAMS, and REPS that SAMS were given ample opportunity to make their decisions about school and to reverse these decisions if they saw fit. There was no instance of fabricated rules or deadlines to prevent students from remaining in or returning to school. These findings indicate the need for further research related to school procedures and practices with respect to school-age mothers in other than this major metropolitan area. Further, it can be inferred that the literature regarding the treatment of school-age mothers and pregnant girls by school personnel requires closer scrutiny.

The pregnancy period was not perceived by the SAMS or their parents as being problematic in regard to educational decision making. The continuation of school during pregnancy did not seem to be perceived as a conscious decision by SAMS or their parents but rather as a continuation of the status quo. Corresponding to this finding is the fact that when questioned about the consequences of school-age pregnancy and motherhood, SAMS responses reflected concern about consequences in postdelivery period with no predelivery consequences mentioned.

These findings suggest that SAMS' concerns and needs are focused upon the postdelivery period rather than the pregnancy period. Such findings are contrary to findings regarding actual assistance provided by ings regarding actual assistance provided by school systems in this study. Special programs reported in this research concentrated on the pregnancy period but were absent in the postdelivery stage. If school systems want to meet the needs of current SAMS, more effort needs to be placed upon the postdelivery stage.

SAMS indicated that they did not perceive embarrassment to be a factor in deciding to continue with or curtail their education. This finding of perceived absence of embarrassment has several plausible explanations. The finding may be attributable to the metropolitan area in which this study was conducted,

and further studies in other localities might yield different results. SAMS may have been unable or hesitant to admit such embarrassment. Regardless of these possibilities, the perceptions of SAMS' embarrassment revealed in this study have some implications for SAM programs and procedures within schools. If special programs are designed in order to meet SAMS' needs for seclusion because of embarrassment and discomfort while SAMS do not feel this embarrassment and discomfort, such programs are ill conceived and ill spent. If school systems desire to implement programs to best meet the needs of SAMS in their community, assessment of SAMS' perceptions of embarrassment in that community may be necessary.

School-age mothers remain in school and return to school primarily in order to complete their education and get a job. This finding suggests that the school may possess the strongest encouragement for SAMS to continue their education. Students who see benefit in school attendance and school graduation appear to be less likely to drop out despite the difficulties of the combined roles of student and mother.

Corresponding with the finding that SAMS returned to school in order to complete their education is the finding that SAMS in this study did not indicate that they perceived educational curtailment as a consequence of school-age motherhood (despite the fact that twelve SAMS had dropped out of school for periods of more than six weeks). These findings coupled with encouragement by school personnel for SAMS to remain in school, suggest a positive outlook for school continuation by SAMS.

Though most school personnel were well informed about special programs, procedures, and other educational alternatives available to school-age mothers, several school counselors were unable to give information about such alternatives within their own school programs and procedures. Since the information these counselors lacked was pertinent to educational decision making (such as locations of special predelivery schools and adult schools, personnel at special schools, and procedures for transporting SAMS from regular school to special), such counselors must have difficulty advising SAMS regarding educational options. If schools desire to have full utilization of their SAM programs and practices, counselors as well as other personnel need to be aware of all aspects of the school's SAM program.

Results indicated that SAMS did not perceive REPS as a source of assistance in decision making. This finding may not be as strong an indictment of REPS as it first appears. Some REPS appeared to be aware of adolescent strivings for a stable self-image and the accompanying seeking of independence. These REPS may have exerted their assistance in a manner that emphasized the SAM's role in this decision making. Thus, these REPS may have assisted the young mothers with this decision but in doing so skillfully permitted the SAM the satisfaction of the decision making.

Human resources used by the SAM in her educational decision making were not identifiable from the study. However, a strong indication did exist that SAM peers provided encouragement and information for the young mothers to return to school. This finding implies that peer pressure and support may be operating within the school but perhaps in a different manner than in the past. Whereas at one time peer pressure may have been an element that worked to encourage SAMS to drop out, the evidence here suggests that peer pressure from other young mothers may work to encourage continued enrollment during pregnancy and re-enrollment after delivery.

A major set of findings noted in this study was the differences in perceptions of the consequences of school-age motherhood held by SAMS, PSAMS, and school personnel. The data from school-age mothers and their parents reflected only the minor, short-term consequences of school-age pregnancy and motherhood. The data from school personnel working with school-age mothers reflected the more severe and long-term consequences.

Reasons for these striking differences in responses of these significant persons remain unclear, though several plausible explanations can be projected. School REPS might have been reflecting their middle class value bias toward people of a lower class. The REPS may have assumed consequences of school-age pregnancy and motherhood based upon consequences that would be felt by their own middle class population. In addition, the REPS may have viewed the SAM's environment and consequences thereof (poverty, family background, and a host of possible

causative factors) as consequences of her motherhood rather than the motherhood itself.

One might also consider that the desire of REPS working with young mothers was based on a need to justify their services. If there are few consequences of school-age parenthood, there may be little need for special programs geared for these young parents.

Another possible explanation of the differences between responses of SAMS and their parents and the responses of school representatives might be the inability of SAMS and their parents to transcend the present and consider future consequences of school-age pregnancy and motherhood. Such inability to look beyond the present is typical of lower socio-economic levels from which the majority of the subjects were drawn. Further, the inability to admit hardships perceived to have been brought upon themselves, and the accompanying desire to appear stoic and capable in the face of difficulties might also explain the reticence of some SAMS and their parents to state consequences.

It also may be that SAMS and their parents in this study represent a population so burdened with frustrations that consequences of school-age pregnancy and motherhood are not viewed as unusual difficulties by the young mothers.

Regardless of these and other possible explanations of the incongruity of responses, differing perceptions would appear to be highly important considerations in program planning and implementation. School and community programs aimed at avoiding or assisting with the negative consequences of school-age pregnancy and motherhood would seem to have little hope for success if the recipients of the programs do not perceive particular situations as negative consequences. If REPS are correct in terms of consequences of school-age motherhood and are determined to assist young mothers, programs must be designed to gain and maintain SAMS' interest by responding to those immediate consequences recognized by the SAMS as currently existing in the lives of SAMS.

If long range life patterns *are* altered by school-age pregnancy and motherhood, if chances of a SAM'S marital success are limited, and if her economic and educational careers are blighted as a direct consequence of school-age pregnancy and motherhood, then schools must work to mediate these consequences in order to assist the SAM. If, on the other hand, particular difficulties considered by REPS to be consequences of school-age motherhood are not real consequences, but rather life situations for a given subgroup, programs might better be aimed at the given subgroup than limited to the school-age mother.

This study was designed to clarify the nature of the relationship of school-age pregnancy and motherhood and some of these social and pedagogical problems related to young mothers within the school. The findings and implications drawn from the findings provide a baseline for fruitful inquiry, and a first step in progressing toward accurate and valid research with respect to pregnant girls and young mothers within public schools.

REFERENCES

Eddinger, L. & Forbush, J. *School-age pregnancy and parenthood in the United States.* Washington, D.C.: The National Alliance Concerned with School-age Parents, 1977.

Furstenberg, F. *Unplanned parenthood: The social consequences of teenage childbearing.* New York: The Free Press, 1976.

Howard, M. "How Can Teachers Help?" *Today's Education* 67 (February-March 1978): 62-66.

McMurray, G. "Young Parents—Their Challenge to Educators." In *Conference Proceedings—1975.* Edited by NACSAP. Washington, D.C.: National Alliance Concerned with School-Age Parents, 1975.

The Hand that Rocks the Cradle also Brings Home the Bacon, Cooks It, and Washes the Dishes: That Same Hand Is Killing Herself Trying to Be a Super-Mom

LAURA D. KIVLIN
Bowling Green State University

Back in the cave people days, life expectancy was about 21 years. The cave women spent the first half of their lives as children and the second either pregnant or lactating. None of these conditions is particularly well suited to swinging through the trees and hurling rocks at a fast moving potential dinner. Rubbing two sticks together to start a fire had not yet been discovered so if they were to have heat, the fire had to be constantly tended. Obviously, the wife got this chore. Thus, the traditional division of labor was born out of physical condition and ability and ever since women's place had been in the kitchen.

Technology provided by the 11th and 12th century, the first means, aside from being a nun or a prostitute, by which women could be self supporting. Before this, the women in the household had to labor for long hours with a distaff to spin enough yarn for even the simplest garment. A distaff is a simple forked stick on which wads of wool were impaled. From this clump women pulled strands of fibers and twisted them between their fingers to make yarn. If you can't imagine the time consuming tediousness of this task, try it with a ball of cotton batting.

Women spent so much time with this type of spinning that they became forever identified with the distaff and we still speak of the distaff side of the household. There seems to be no bow-and-arrow, pick and shovel or carburetor-transmission complementry term.

Peter Drucker writes in *Connections: Technology and Change* that the invention of the spinning wheel freed women from the distaff since one spinner could supply a half dozen weavers with yarn. Obviously the power loom had not yet been invented. Thus a person who spins became a spinster and a third self supporting occupation for women became available. In other words, women had been fleeced.

The sewing machine, invented in the late 1800's, enabled clothing factories to be developed and brought the price of ready made clothing down so that the majority of families could afford to purchase at least some of their garments. The clothing factory was one of the first sweat shop enterprises making use of the very cheap labor of girls who were no longer needed at home to hand sew the family clothing. The sewing machine added a fourth alternative of self support for women and became a girl's best friend. Actually, after diamonds, it still may be.

The typewriter and the telephone are other technological developments mentioned by Drucker that have given women a zillion opportunities for self support, if they're willing to live at a subsistence level.

Certainly, technology has changed everyone's life and made it possible for many other social and cultural changes to occur. Men's more dense body structure and stronger muscles are no longer essential in probably 90 percent of paid jobs today. Yet if the employer can afford to hire a male, he does; even *she* does. However, when the budget is tight a woman will be considered for the job, since women will work for less money. In addition, they will have fewer long term illnesses and

will attend to details better. She'll probably even make better coffee and consider it part of her duties. It's strange that when "all the famous chefs are men" their fellow men can't make coffee.

The industrial revolution took the manufacturing of soap, candles, fabric, clothing, household furnishings, and food processing out of the cottage, where women had done these things, into factories where men were paid for doing the same tasks. Note that once a task is paid for, it usually becomes *men's* work.

In the nineteen twenties child care and household tasks became, for the first time, defined as a full-time job for the wife-mother in the family. Before that in addition to child care, she had been the manufacturer of many household necessities as well as food grower and processor. After all, vegetables in the garden didn't run away and have to be chased so she could tend the garden, raise the chickens, milk the cow, and preserve the food even though she was pregnant or lactating and looking after a half-dozen children.

Thus, it became a strongly entrenched norm, supported by law, that men were the heads of the household, they were obligated to support their wives and in turn they were entitled to their wives' services. By 1900 every state had laws that entitled women to own property. This rule was promoted by men who, when pressed by their creditors, could put all of their property in their wives' name and thus avoid bankruptcy and also by fathers who wanted to will property to their daughters but not their sons-in-law. Obviously women couldn't promote this; they didn't yet have a vote.

There has never been a law or custom giving a wife any allowance or payment for services, except that, if she raised the chickens, she could keep the egg money. However, if she is injured by a third party, the husband can collect for loss of services and consort. The courts then determine what she's worth when she can't provide services. But when she does provide them, as most wives do most of the time, they don't count economically. Of course, she's getting room and board! We laud her for these services to spouse, home and children, but do not give her any economic protection if she loses her job by divorce or death of her spouse.

Since her job has no salary, no promotions, no retirement or severance pay, the wife is really in an economic bind. Much has been written about these displaced homemakers in the last few years and a few programs developed to help them become employable. It's interesting that they have worked all their lives but are not necessarily employable.

Please don't use the term "working mothers" to mean only the mother who is employed outside of the home. The homemaker may not have employment, but she works, and often very hard. Doctors are very aware of the tired mother syndrome. The cure is to hang in there until the children are in school. That's really a great help. A day in the office is much less enervating than a day with three pre-schoolers. Unless, of course, like a vast number of employed women, she also does all the housework after hours.

If the homemaker's husband dies before she does, she can finally collect at least some of what they have accumulated as a couple and in most cases insurance enough to cover funeral expenses. Depending on the estate, she may be rewarded from $100 to $1,000 per year for her contributions to the family. In most states the law allows a widow to collect one-third of the estate even if she is not mentioned in the will but it will cost her one-third of her inheritance in lawyer's fees to collect. In most states a husband can also collect courtesy rights of one-third of the estate of his deceased wife, if she had anything. In other states an employed wife must keep a separate checking account and receipts for everything she purchases, else she inherits it from her husband and has to pay inheritance taxes on the value of the things she purchased. Only recently have laws been enacted so that the amount a spouse may inherit tax free has been adjusted to somewhat reflect inflated values of real estate and the deflated value of the dollar.

The question then becomes, if tradition, law and custom decree that a wife provide the services at home so the husband can earn a living and that this is a dual venture, why should any spouse have to inherit *anything* from the other?

If a homemaker sold the services that she contributes to the household, she could earn about $17,000 per year. And if her employer beat her up she could collect damages and workman's compensation. If her husband beats her, there is virtually no hope of collecting anything and very little chance of being protected from future assaults. After

all, "She may have deserved it." Really!

The very early division of labor between spouses continues today despite the almost total revolution in technology. It is a perfect example of cultural lag, a concept that every beginning Sociology class addresses but, like the weather, no one seems to do much about it.

World War II gave many women the opportunity to enter the labor force and women took it readily. They were finally to be paid for their labor and were eager to lose their dependent status. Consider the changes this has made in the culture.

Today, women make up 42% of the labor force and about half of all the women 16 years and over are employed. Over 90% will be employed at some time during their lives. Over half of all children have mothers in the labor force. At least the schools have caught up with this change in living patterns, if few other institutions have. When information blanks are sent home there is now a place for mother's business phone number. Television polls and political surveys ask for information from the Female Head of the Household in addition to the Male Head of the Household.

Few other institutions or customs have adjusted to the fact that now women are earners and thus persons. Certainly not the federal government for all of its rules and regulations against discrimination. Recently the government printing office lost a suit brought by its women employees. The printing office is required to pay several millions of dollars of back pay to women who were doing the same work as the male employees but were assigned lesser job titles. A liberal, it has been said, is one whose interest is not at stake and the printing office's interest was at stake.

The Social Security Administration has really cleaned up from wives' earnings. At least it collects equally from husbands and wives but pays only once. Upon retirement, employed wives may collect either at their husband's dependent or from their own account whichever is greater. In the vast majority of couples the wife has been employed for fewer years at lesser pay so again at retirement she becomes a dependent. Since the number of employed wives has constantly increased since WWII, every time Social Security benefits go up the cost to workers and employers goes up about half as much. The employed wives are subsidizing the system and few get any return from their own accounts.

There are some places where the culture has adjusted to the fact that in half of the families both spouses are employed. Banks, probably the most conservative institutions, stay open some evenings so that the dual career couple can cash a check, after they have deposited their two pay checks, of course. They'll even lend women money, if, as the fellow says, they can prove they don't need it. Shopping centers are open evenings so they don't miss the profit to be made from that second pay check. Uncle Sam may even catch up with the facts of life and keep the post office open at least until six o'clock.

Doctors, evidently more conservative even than banks, who used to have evening office hours, now go home at 5 o'clock. So today if you're ill after five, it's either the hospital emergency room or take your own two aspirin and call the doctor after nine in the morning.

The Internal Revenue Service also makes a bundle out of Mother's wages. Why should the percent taken in taxes increase just because two people are married to each other? Non-marital heterosexual cohabitation might be cheaper and is when the combined incomes approach $50,000.

Another misplaced belief is that the husband's earnings that are taxes in the 35 percent bracket and that his wife's are in the 50 percent bracket. Despite her lesser income, it is her earnings that "push up" the tax bracket and psychologically erode her net income.

Burglars are well aware that half the households are unpeopled during the day. Incidents of daytime breaking and entry have increased markedly.

United Parcel Service also knows that the little women have put on their grey flannel suits or their "pink collars" and gone to do a paying job. One can now leave a signed note for the U.P.S. man and find the parcel waiting when she gets home. Depending on your neighborhood, do provide a safe place since thieves also know you're not home.

United States Postal Service leaves a note and someone has to leave work early to pick up the package before five o'clock. The postal service might break even if it adjusted its services in relation to the data which pour out of the Bureau of the Census by means of the underpaid women employees in the printing

office.

Appliance and other repairmen will probably not read the reports on the employment of women and continue with their 8:30-4:30 housecalls. Since repairmen can't estimate how long a job will take, a family can lose a day's wages or more waiting for them.

It would be great if the displaced homemakers could organize a housesitting service to wait for the repairmen. But they probably couldn't earn a living wage doing this.

Some agencies, religious groups, individuals and businesses are providing day care for the pre-school children of employed parents. However, less than ten percent of these children are in day care centers. The great majority are looked after by relatives in their own homes. The Federal Day Care plan is being promoted again, with little hope of its passage.

One of the horror stories told about the employment or liberation of women (although certainly not all employed wives are liberated) is that the divorce rate increases with the increase in the rate of female employment. Of course it does. Once a wife realizes she can earn a living for herself, she no longer is willing to put up with so much shit. Children are much better off with one happy parent than with two unhappy ones. The problems come from the fact that few women can earn enough to support their children comfortably. Only about 14 percent of divorced women are entitled to any alimony, and according to the courts, only two percent are granted permanent alimony. About 10 percent of women are awarded rehabilitative funds to help them develop a saleable skill. Child support allotments usually cover the milk bill and little else. Allotments, as often as not, are not paid after the first few years. Poverty has a much more adverse effect on children than does the divorce of their parents. Poverty continues long after the hurt of divorce has waned.

From five to ten percent of divorced fathers get custody of the children. It can't be said that "he gets stuck with the children" since it would offend some people. However, that's exactly what happens. She gets stuck: with transporting children to everything, and back, the dentist bills, the measles, the orthopedic shoes, immunization shots, supervising homework, salving wounded egoes, bandaging scraped knees, housebreaking the dog, visits to the doctor, and earning the living. All this *plus* P.T.A.

Giving fathers custody of the children would seem to be a very logical decision since the chances are that fathers have a much higher income and more strength left at the end of the day to tend the children and do the household tasks. If you watch "Hello Larry," he does very well having custody of two daughters. They do all the housework including handwashing his socks. However Kramer didn't make out all that well. He lost his job because of all the time he spent looking after his child. In the end Mrs. Kramer, unhampered by child care duties, was able to earn more than he did. However, Kramer did learn to be a good father and homemaker, proving that parenting and homemaking skills are learned and not inherited along with femaleness. Recent studies find that employed wives spend an average of five hours a day on household tasks. Today, husbands spend 1½ hours whether or not their wives have paid employment. This is the same amount of time found in Walker's study done 10 years ago. Husbands, obviously, have not yet been liberated even though they live there too and are big boys now. So, if there are any husbands who worry, else they be expected to help around the house, they can rest assured that most husbands still mow the lawn, take out the trash, and wash the car. That is, most of the time.

Of course there are exceptions and one hears stories, but not research reports, about husbands really pitching in and helping their employed wives with her household tasks. Note they're still *her* tasks. There are very few stories about husbands who actually share the housework. One man with whom I talked said stoutly, "What's new about shared roles? My mother helped with the milking, drove the tractor, and fed the calves." He left before I could ask him what roles his father shared.

Probably, the only way a social change can be effected in this area is for spouses to divide the tasks. Thus if the laundry is not done, everyone knows who didn't do it. If dinner isn't ready on Wednesday, the non-doer is easily recognized. Husbands since Adam have known that if they did household tasks poorly, their wives would take over. Don't. Remember that Kramer learned. And Kramer's son learned that a daddy can also

be a good mommy.

With the media ever repeating in untold ways that housework is women's work, even women believe it. It can be predicted with certainty that the sharing of these tasks by the male spouse is the last cultural change that will occur because of the paid employment of the distaff side of the household. There's no profit in it and few intrinsic rewards.

OHIO COUNCIL ON FAMILY RELATIONS
1980 ANNUAL CONFERENCE
OTTERBEIN COLLEGE, WESTERVILLE, OHIO
PROGRAM

SESSION A: THE FAMILY AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS MODERATOR:
Johnnie H. Budke
Columbus Technical Institute, Columbus, Ohio

1. A Conceptual Model of the Antecedents of Acts of Spousal Violence with Implications for Intervention Strategies
   Bonnie J. Perkins—Brigham Young University
   Richard Galligan—University of Akron
   Steven E. Perkins—University of Akron
2. WAIS Test-Retest Score Patterns and Social Self Perceptions among Aging Persons
   Sara M. Derrick—Bowling Green State Univserity
3. Senior Citizen Fear of Victimization
   Stephen Freeman—Ohio State University
4. Bureautechnocracy: Family and Public Policy
   Doris K. Williams—Bowling Green State University

SESSION B: CHILDREN: RELATIONSHIPS AND CONCERNS MODERATOR:
Kathleen Campbell
Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio

1. Young Children's Perceptions of Mothers and Teachers
   Sally J. Kilmer—Bowling Green State University
2. Body Build Stereotypes as a Product of Social Learning
   Patsy Morris—Kent State University
3. As the Twig is Bent
   Kathleen Campbell—Bowling Green State University
4. Growing up in Two Worlds—Reports from Africa
   Wanda Montgomery—Bowling Green State University

SESSION C: SYMPOSIUM: TEACHING INFANTS AND TODDLERS:
THE PARENTS' ROLE MODERATOR: Justine Santschi
Ohio Wesleyan University

SESSION D: INTEGRATING CAREERS AND FAMILIES MODERATOR:
Albert Lovejoy, Otterbein College

1. Work Motivation of Mothers and Infants
   Johnnie H. Budke, Columbus Technical Institute
2. Disadvantaged by Society: Plight of the Displaced Homemaker
   Rosemary T. Mulcahy—Kent State University
3. Family Management: The Role of Attitudes and Control Orientation.
   Olga B. Hough—Ohio Wesleyan University
4. The Family and the Occupational World: Linkages and Change
   Anne S. Macke—Ohio State University

SESSION E: ROLES, PERCEPTIONS AND JUDICIAL INVOLVEMENT MODERATOR:
Bron Ingoldsby, Kent State University

1. Reference Group Interaction and Sex Role Orientation
   Aida Tomeh—Bowling Green State University, Ohio
2. Perceptions of Selected School Age Mothers, Their Parents and School Personnel Regarding School Activities and Educational Practices.
   Gail Henderson—Ohio Department of Education
3. Judges' Knowledge of Key Child Development Concepts Related to Custody and Placement Decisions.
   Philip B. Gordon—Ohio State University
4. The Hand the Rocks the Cradle, also Brings Home the Bacon, Cooks it and Washes the Dishes—That Same Hand
   Laura D. Kivlin—Bowling Green State University

SESSION F: WORKSHOP: DEVELOPMENTAL DELAY MODERATOR:
Joan Mattox—Children's Hospital
Columbus, Ohio

What's to become of Cynthia? Impact of a Developmentally Disabled Member of the Family.
Suzanne Berry and Patricia Gardner—Association for the Developmentally Disabled, Columbus, Ohio

SESSION G: WORKSHOP: SEX EDUCATION MEDIA MODERATOR:
Gail Henderson, Ohio Department of Education

Evaluating Audio-Visual Media for use in Sex Education Programs
Robert W. Birch—Private Practice—Family Therapy, Columbus, Ohio

BUSINESS MEETING—OCFR MEMBERS

The Program Committee submits thanks to Dr. Albert Lovejoy for facilitating arrangements for the meeting to be held on the campus of Otterbein College, Westerville, Ohio. Thanks are also submitted to the officials of Otterbein College for consenting for the conference to be held at that institution.